



BRONZE & STONE

The Cult of Antiquity
in Song Dynasty China

Yunchiahn C. Sena

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IN SONG DYNASTY CHINA

YUNCHIAH N. SENNA

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Cover illustration: Mirror with the fish-dragon transformation decoration and a long handle.

Jin dynasty. Bronze, h. 23.5 cm, w. 11.5 cm, d. 0.9 cm. Guanfu Museum.

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To David

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CHRONOLOGY OF CHINESE DYNASTIC PERIODS

| | |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Xia | ca. 2070–ca. 1600 BCE |
| Shang | ca. 1600–ca. 1046 BCE |
| Zhou | ca. 1046–256 BCE |
| Western Zhou | ca. 1046–771 BCE |
| Eastern Zhou | 771–256 BCE |
| Spring and Autumn | 770–476 BCE |
| Warring States | 475–221 BCE |
| Qin | 221–206 BCE |
| Han | 202 BCE–220 CE |
| Western Han | 202 BCE–9 CE |
| Xin | 9–23 |
| Eastern Han | 25–220 |
| Three Kingdoms | 220–265 |
| Jin | 265–420 |
| Western Jin | 265–317 |
| Eastern Jin | 317–420 |
| Southern and Northern Dynasties | 381–589 |
| Sui | 581–617 |
| Tang | 618–907 |
| Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms | 907–979 |
| Song | 960–1279 |
| Northern Song | 960–1127 |
| Southern Song | 1127–1279 |
| Liao | 916–1125 |
| Xixia | 1038–1227 |
| Jin | 1115–1234 |
| Yuan | 1260–1368 |
| Ming | 1368–1644 |
| Qing | 1644–1911 |



SITES OF ARCHEOLOGICAL FINDINGS IN SONG DYNASTY CHINA. Map by Mary Yang

BRONZE AND STONE

INTRODUCTION

Exploring the Song Antiquarian Movement

DURING THE SONG DYNASTY (960–1279), CHINA EXPERIENCED AN explosion of interest in the past. Although the past had always been a source of authority and inspiration in historical and cultural consciousness, this period stands out for its fascination with the material remnants of antiquity. Ancient objects were eagerly collected and studied by learned citizens as well as by the imperial court, and for the first time in Chinese history were sought after on a grand scale. Collectors went to the field to obtain them by the cartload as they were freshly unearthed, or to the antique market to purchase them at unprecedented high prices. Large antique collections were assembled and displayed in private homes and in the court. Ancient objects were carefully studied, and new genres of writing systematically documented their physical features. Innovative methods, such as ink rubbings of the objects and line drawings, were employed to visually represent them. Complex theories were proposed to explicate the historical and ritual significance of ancient objects. As a result, historical narratives and cosmological outlooks were modified or expanded based on the revised understanding of antiquity. On the one hand, ancient objects were revered as symbols of political mandate or emblems of cultural identity. On the other hand, they acquired the status of objets d'art, exemplifying good taste and an elegant lifestyle. Consequently, fresh social rituals involving these objects emerged, and novel trends in fashion were inspired by them. From use in state rituals to household decoration, the impact of ancient objects could be seen in a wide range of material culture.

This book examines the historical events and practices pertaining to the collecting, studying, and appropriation of ancient objects. Song antiquarianism emerged during the mid-eleventh century as an impetus to revive

ideals from China's high antiquity, reinstitute ancient ritual practices, and reconstruct history using fragments from previous eras. This marked the beginning of a long-term development of a specific notion of antiquity that was intimately involved with objects. Before the Song period the notion of antiquity in China was based primarily on two textual traditions, namely *jing* (classics) and *shi* (historical literature), which had been firmly established since the second century CE and understood through layers of interpretations in these traditions. The use of objects in the Song antiquarian movement offered a fresh approach. Keenly aware of the historicity of objects from the past, which granted them authenticity in representing antiquity, Song antiquaries examined the notion of antiquity in the established textual traditions against newfound evidence from ancient objects. Cross-examination between texts and objects revolutionized the understanding of antiquity, especially regarding ancient rituals, and offered an updated tool for dealing with problems created by accumulated commentaries on classical texts. The Song antiquarian emphasis on material evidence left a lasting influence on Chinese historiography and was especially critical during the eighteenth-century intellectual movement of evidential studies (*kaozheng xue*) and in early twentieth-century Chinese archaeological excavations.¹

RECONSTRUCTING SONG ANTIQUARIANISM: AN INTERDISCIPLINARY APPROACH

The primary objective of this book is to build a foundation for a thorough understanding of Song antiquarianism and its cultural ramifications. This involves mapping out the historical development of the movement. Previous studies of critical events and major Song antiquaries were mostly conducted in separate disciplinary fields, such as political history, intellectual history, art history, textual studies, and epigraphy. While some aspects of the movement are well understood, there has been a need for a coherent delineation of how Song antiquarianism began and evolved.

Understanding Song antiquarianism requires theoretical and methodological tools. Although previous studies preserve rich details, their anecdotal accounts offer little basis on which to develop further understanding. Because of their complex nature, three areas call for theoretical analyses. The first pertains to the functionality and materiality of ancient objects collected and studied in the Song, many of which were originally used in

funerary practices and bore little significance outside that context. As these objects entered the movement, however, they were often intellectualized by Song antiquaries as relics of an idealized past and granted unassailable authority in political ideology and historical outlook. Many objects assumed different formats or even new physical features in Song antiquarianism, which prompted questions regarding their authenticity. Changes in physical features have been traditionally accepted as necessary by Chinese antiquaries without much clarification. Examination of these changes reveals the theoretical nature of the intellectualization process as well as material transformation of the ancient objects as they were studied and collected.

The second area for theoretical analyses has to do with the ideological connections between the conception of antiquity in this period and contemporary political debates in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, which, largely along the line between the Old and the New Parties, polarized political discourse on issues ranging from the principles of good governance to the interpretation of classical texts. While the two parties were affiliated with the Song court at different times, ideological differences developed into tensions between the imperial court and Song officials. Although Song antiquarian writings were often used by different political factions to insinuate their stance in political idealism, these writings were largely overlooked in the studies of Song antiquarian movement until recent times, due to a prominent formal consistency shared among such works by scholar-officials of the Old and New Parties. These are exemplified by two significant studies: *Illustrated Catalogue for Examining Antiquity* (Kaogu tu, henceforth *Examining Antiquity Illustrated*) and *Illustrated Catalogue of Erudite Antiquity Revised in the Xuanhe Era* (Xuanhe chongxiu Bogu tulu, also known simply as Botu tu, henceforth *Xuanhe Erudite Antiquity Illustrated*).² Analysis of the content and internal structure of several major Song antiquarian writings in their political and historical context reveals the ideological connection between political idealism and the notion of antiquity embedded in these writings.

The third area in Song antiquarianism that requires a new theoretical and methodological approach is related to the circulation and appropriation of ancient imagery. Although the movement began as an intellectual discourse for the elite, the forms and decorative motifs of ancient objects began to be absorbed into the mainstream of Song visual culture in the second half of the twelfth century. The dissemination of ancient imagery often relied on printed drawings taken from antique catalogues, illustrated

manuals, or encyclopedias, while extant archaic objects were found in underground caches, temples, or tombs. It is therefore essential to incorporate information from these and other sources in the study of Song archaic objects. A methodological approach that brings together all relevant information under thematic categories allows reconstruction of critical moments in the Song antiquarian movement in its original intellectual, historical, and cultural context, as well as interpretation of their significance.

METAL AND STONE: CATEGORIES OF ANTIQUARIAN MATERIALS

The majority of the ancient objects dealt with in the Song antiquarian movement came from two large categories: (1) metal (*jin*), referring to ancient ritual bronze objects, and (2) stone (*shi*), referring to commemorative or funerary stone engravings. Although the objects in both categories are historical artifacts, at first glance they seem to share very little in common. The bronze ritual objects usually took the forms of cooking utensils or food containers. They could also be mirrors, musical bells, chariot fittings, or standardized counterweights. These objects were often used in ceremonies of ancestral sacrifice or burials, especially during the Shang and Zhou period (thirteenth to third century BCE) in early Chinese history. Different from Shang-Zhou ritual bronzes, stone carvings treated in the Song antiquarian movement came from much later times—the majority of them were produced after the first century CE, many as late as the eighth century CE. Unlike Shang-Zhou bronze vessels, which were mostly portable and thus relatively easy to collect, most of the stone carvings were monumental—some were actually carved into cliff faces—and therefore difficult, if not impossible, to be physically assembled.

Despite the obvious differences in their materiality, bronze objects and stone carvings share a critical feature: both bear inscriptions. The primary function of a commemorative stone carving, often in the form of a stele, was to bear the eulogy for a deceased person or historical event. Many of the Shang-Zhou bronze objects bore dedicatory texts indicating by whom, for whom, and for what occasion the bronze objects were commissioned. In a certain type of inscription used to commemorate ceremonies of political investiture common during the Western Zhou period (mid-eleventh to mid-eighth century BCE), historical details concerning particular events and personalities were given in the inscription to provide background. In other

cases, especially on bronze vessels found in aristocratic caches near the Zhou royal domain, inscriptions contained narratives of family genealogy that parallel the line of Zhou kings in panegyric language that serves to glorify both the dynasty and the supporting aristocratic lineages.

The significance of ancient bronze inscriptions to Song antiquaries should be understood in the intellectual context of the historical outlook prevalent among Song literati. Shang-Zhou ritual bronze objects were produced in a period corresponding to the Three Dynasties (Sandai) in traditional Chinese historiography. According to this tradition, the Xia, Shang, and Zhou dynasties constituted a golden age in Chinese civilization, when the human world was governed with principles set forth by sage rulers. During the Song period, it was generally believed that even though corruption existed toward the end of each dynasty, which justified the succession of dynasties, the virtuous founders of each succeeding dynasty were approved by Heaven and in harmony with the needs of society, thereby enabling virtuous governance to continue from dynasty to dynasty.³ However, knowledge about virtuous rulership in the Three Dynasties was destroyed due to the disastrous burning of the classics during the Qin (221–206 BCE), the period that followed, which permanently ended the golden age. This belief was expressed by leading Song literati and antiquaries. In the introduction to the treatise on rites and music in *The New Tang History* (Xin Tang shu, completed in 1060), the prominent scholar-official and antiquary Ouyang Xiu (1007–1072) discussed the harmonious union between rituals and governance during the Three Dynasties and the divergence between rituals and rulership since the Qin dynasty.⁴

Lü Dalin (fl. 1092), a highly regarded scholar and antiquary, lamented in his preface to *Examining Antiquity Illustrated* (dated 1092) the deterioration in administrating principles and ritual systems from the Three Dynasties to the Qin; he compared the changes to the difference between day and night.⁵ The rediscovery of ritual bronze objects from the legendary Three Dynasties meant to the Song antiquaries, many of whom were also statesmen, an opportunity to recover the lost knowledge about the golden age and its virtuous rulership from the original source. The inscriptions borne on these ancient objects were understandably treasured by Song antiquaries as equivalent to the genuine “voice” of the sage rulers passed down directly from the golden age.⁶

Compared to Shang-Zhou bronze inscriptions, inscriptions on the stone carvings revealed a slightly different aspect of antiquity. Like their bronze

counterparts, they contained details about historical personalities and events, and were perceived as authentic sources of evidence for their critiques of traditional historiography. In addition to their archival nature, stone carvings contained calligraphy by historical personalities who were greatly admired during the Song for their moral righteousness or heroic deeds. The best known example was perhaps Tang scholar-official and calligrapher Yan Zhenqing (709–785), who was considered a noble model by Song scholar-officials for his upright character and loyalist martyrdom in addition to his austere calligraphic style.⁷ For many Song antiquaries, calligraphy was not only a demonstration of artistry in writing but also a manifestation of moral character. This view was rooted in a belief originating in the Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE) that the internal moral quality of a person could be rendered by his external stylistic expression.⁸ Ancient inscriptions were seen as tangible memorials of exemplary historical personalities, comparable to relics that are tangible remains of saints or venerated sages. Ancient bronze objects and stone carvings were considered to be authentic material evidence that came down to the Song times directly from the past. The relic-like quality of these objects transformed abstract notions about the past into concrete forms and enabled Song antiquaries to collect, study, and replicate.

STUDIES OF SONG ANTIQUARIANISM

Studies pertaining to historical figures, events, ideas, and practices of Song antiquarianism have been attempted as early as the mid-twelfth century. The earliest, *History of Ancient Scripts* (*Zhou shi*) attributed to Zhai Qinian (fl. 1142), is a bibliographical study of thirty-four works on ancient scripts produced during the height of the movement.⁹ Although some of the works were writings about Shang-Zhou ritual bronzes, others focused on inscriptions.¹⁰ The entry for each work listed in the study provided a connoisseurial account about its author or compiler as well as historical figures and events associated with the ancient objects and inscriptions in question. Concerns raised by Song antiquaries, such as appropriate readings of passages in ancient inscriptions or proper functions of ancient objects in rituals, were also reflected upon in these entries. Zhai Qinian benefited from personal connections with some of the antiquaries whose works were discussed. Many of these connections were established through his father, Zhai Ruwen (1076–1141), who was highly regarded for his broad knowledge in ancient

inscriptions. Zhai Ruwen had played an important role in Emperor Huizong's endeavor to revive ancient rituals through collecting and studying ancient ritual bronzes. Given his father's work, Zhai Qinian's discussions of particular events and personalities in *History of Ancient Scripts* were rich with insights and firsthand details.¹¹

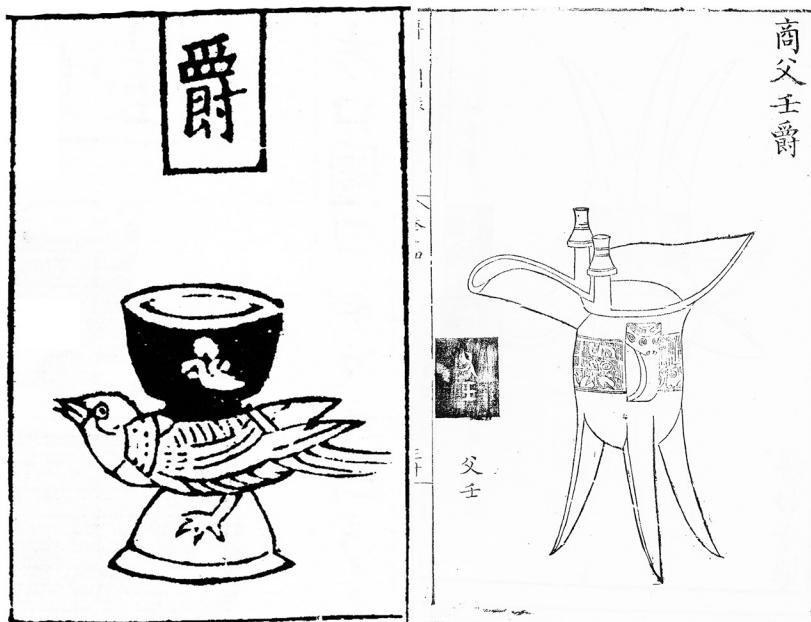
Although the initial study of Song antiquarianism was made in the mid-twelfth century, studies on the movement as a whole or on the context of the movement did not appear until the early twentieth century. Antiquarian activities, such as collecting and cataloguing of ancient objects, had been continuously practiced throughout the centuries in between. The Song antiquarian movement was first recognized as a pervasive cultural phenomenon by the eminent sinologist and philosopher Wang Guowei (1877–1927) in an essay delivered at the Peking University Historical Society in 1926. Published posthumously in 1927, “Song Studies of Metal and Stone” (*Song dai zhi jinshixue*) recognized three major accomplishments in the movement.¹² First, Wang pointed out that collections of ancient ritual bronze objects and commemorative stone carvings were formed in China by Song antiquaries with unprecedented vigor. The effort was initially made by individual collectors, such as Ouyang Xiu and Liu Chang (1019–1068), who pioneered the collecting of ink rubbings of stone stelae and ancient bronze vessels during the mid- to late eleventh century. Several dozen private collectors were recorded during this time, including the famed painter Li Gonglin (mid-eleventh century to 1106), who was known for his discerning connoisseurship and lavish spending on antique items.¹³ Wang wrote that the individual efforts in collecting were surpassed by the Song court, when the imperial collection of ancient ritual bronzes grew from fewer than a dozen in the mid-eleventh century to allegedly several thousand or tens of thousands under Emperor Huizong (r. 1100–1125). The courtly enthusiasm for ancient objects continued even after the Song court had fled the devastating Jurchen invasion (1126–1127) and reestablished itself in the south, known as Southern Song (1127–1279).

Second, Wang lauded Song antiquaries for advancing and spreading knowledge about ancient objects by circulating rubbings and compiling catalogues. He stated that the rubbing technique was originally devised to make facsimiles of the classics carved on stone, known as “stone classics” (*shijing*), during the Eastern Han and Wei period (25–266); the technique was also commonly used during the Tang period (618–907) for stone inscriptions.¹⁴ Wang believed that the technique was applied to the inscriptions

on ancient ritual bronzes during the Song dynasty for the first time in Chinese history. This important expansion of the technique took place in 1051 under Emperor Renzong's (r. 1022–1063) supervision during an inspection of the court collection of ancient ritual bronzes. In addition to ink rubbings, illustrated catalogues of ancient bronzes, such as those compiled by Liu Chang, Lü Dalin, and Emperor Huizong, set forth the standard for documenting and studying these objects. For stele inscriptions Wang listed the inventory-style catalogues by Ouyang Xiu and Zhao Mingcheng (1081–1129), which established the precedents for later catalogues of stone inscriptions.

Third, Wang pointed out that Song antiquaries conducted systematic studies of the inscriptions, typology, and ritual function of ancient objects, thereby greatly advancing their contemporary understanding. Song studies of ancient objects resulted in the rectification of ritual models, especially those in Nie Chongyi's (fl. mid-tenth century) *Three Rites Illustrated* (Sanli tu). Based on traditional ritual texts, images of the ritual models in *Three Rites Illustrated* often deviate greatly from the actual Shang-Zhou examples in form and décor (figure I.1). The Song studies of ancient objects not only provided ritual models of forms and décor based on authentic Shang-Zhou objects, they also established a systematic nomenclature for the ritual models by examining actual bronze inscriptions. According to Wang, the Song studies had a lasting impact on the practice of Chinese state rituals after the twelfth century. Archaistic objects made after the ritual models from these studies were used in the state rituals during the period of Emperor Huizong, and continued to serve as standards for ritual objects used by the imperial court and local governments in the Southern Song, Yuan, and Ming periods.

In the dynamic intellectual climate of the 1920s and 1930s, when strenuous efforts were made to merge traditional Chinese scholarship with newly introduced Western disciplines, a group of writings were produced to give due recognition to Song antiquarianism in the context of archaeology.¹⁵ The revolutionary and historian Liang Qichao (1873–1929) initiated this effort with a speech on the historiography of Chinese archaeology delivered to welcome the visit of the Crown Prince of Sweden and chair of the International Archaeological Society to China in 1926.¹⁶ Liang argued that archaeology had a deep-rooted tradition in Chinese history that began with Song antiquarianism. Although the innovative movement was interrupted during the Yuan and Ming period (the late thirteenth to mid-seventeenth



1.1. (left) Drawing of a *jue*-goblet. From *Three Rites Illustrated*, j. 12 (Zhenjiang edition, 1175). (right) Shang Fu Ren *jue*-goblet. From *Xuanhe Erudite Antiquity Illustrated*, j. 14 (Yizhengtang edition, 1752).

century), Liang pointed out, the field of inquiries and methodology for Chinese archaeology as a scholarly discipline were already well defined and fairly developed. The foundation established by Song antiquaries, such as Ouyang Xiu, Lü Dalin, and Zhao Mingcheng, was still valid in the early twentieth century. Liang's claim for a historical origin of Chinese archaeology resonated profoundly among Chinese scholars at a time when Western methods were newly introduced to China by such archaeologists as Johan G. Andersson (1874–1960) and Western-trained Chinese archaeologists like Li Ji (1896–1979).¹⁷

Following Liang, Wei Juxian (1899–1989) in his *History of Chinese Archaeology* (*Zhongguo kaoguxue shi*) listed Song collectors and antiquarian writings to demonstrate the pioneering role of Song antiquarianism in establishing the archaeological tradition in Chinese history.¹⁸ In his essay on archaeology and Chinese historiography, Kwang-chih Chang named Lü Dalin's *Examining Antiquity Illustrated* one of the three most important works in the entire history of Chinese archaeology.¹⁹ This Song catalogue embodied the fascination with antiquity manifested by material remains,

the interest in cross-examination of text and object, and the desire to establish a verifiable historical narrative—all of which are characteristic of Song antiquarianism and, to a certain degree, Chinese archaeology. Highlighting the contributions of Song antiquarianism to the development of modern Chinese archaeology, these studies overlooked the fundamental difference between the connoisseurial attitude toward antiquity that began to develop after the initial development of Song antiquarianism and the overall contextual approach to the past in the modern discipline of archaeology. Addressing this problem, the celebrated archaeologist and founder of Chinese archaeology Li Ji argued polemically that, despite the methodological advances already accomplished in the Song antiquarian movement, China had failed to develop scientific ways comparable to modern archaeology. The reason for this, he continued, was the traditional view of ancient objects in Chinese society that regarded them as collectables and rendered the study of antiquity in “spontaneous commentaries and whimsical activities,” rather than fact-based research and analytical understanding.²⁰

Li pointed out that, instead of engaging with a wide variety of ancient artifacts and considering their provenance, Chinese antiquaries focused heavily on individual objects with inscriptions for their value in historical and philological studies and largely overlooked their archaeological context. Li criticized scholars of the Qing dynasty (1644–1911) for studying only selected objects with substantial inscriptions and appealing decorations (those with high-market values), while the majority of excavated objects with lesser features were ignored and eventually lost. Li cautioned that any study of ancient objects based on such biased practices was fundamentally flawed; the authenticity and scientific value of an ancient object without proper provenance, he believed, were certainly questionable.²¹ The discussion illustrates the opposing views in the early twentieth century in which the movement was regarded either as the foundation for Chinese archaeology or as a flawed precursor of the modern discipline that needed to be reevaluated and rectified. Regardless of their positive or negative views, these studies considered the movement mostly as a forerunner of other events and were not concerned with the nature of the movement itself. Song antiquarianism began to be considered as a primary subject for research in the second half of the twentieth century, as demonstrated in a group of studies that examined the entirety of the movement and its historical context.²² These studies explored three directions that had not been attempted before.

First, many examined the historical and cultural context of elements in the Song movement in order to understand the rising interests in ancient objects during the Song period. The most important impetus to this retrospective interest was the skepticism commonly shared among Song intellectuals against the textually based traditional scholarship of transmitted history and classics. This skepticism prompted Song intellectuals to look into ancient objects for material evidence to offer critiques of the traditional scholarship or correct its mistakes. The current of skepticism began during the Qingli era (1041–1048) when leading scholar-officials, such as Ouyang Xiu and Liu Chang, raised doubts about traditional interpretations of the classics. This attitude did not stem from a dismissal of the classical tradition but was compelled by a keen interest in authenticating the content of the classical texts.²³ The Song view that ancient objects were key to a true understanding of the past is evident in Liu Chang's statement that "the study of antiquity would simply be hearsay, unless it was based on ancient artifacts" and Li Gonglin's belief that "the ancients embedded intricate meanings in their objects and scholars [today] had to study the objects directly in order to understand them." In an oft-quoted comment on ancient stone inscriptions, Ouyang Xiu claimed that ancient objects "can rectify the mistakes in [transmitted] historical documents and biographies."²⁴ This skepticism encouraged Song antiquaries to offer their own interpretation of the past by cross-examining text and object.²⁵

The second direction developed pertains to Song antiquarianism's connection with the ritual reform campaigned for in the Song court, particularly the impressive imperial collection of ancient objects assembled by Emperor Huizong and the court's ritual paraphernalia modeled after the ancient objects.²⁶ Scholars underscored the significance of an earlier reform effort made under Emperor Renzong in which ancient bells were used as reference for new bells made to restore the ritual music in the Song court to the original ancient standard.²⁷ These ritual reforms provided a conceptual context for the collecting and research of ancient objects in the Song court.²⁸ The ritual reform was not only an impetus for the Song court's support of the collecting and research of ancient objects, it also prompted the production of a large number of archaic ritual vessels modeled closely on their ancient counterparts. Most notable among the archaic ritual vessels produced by the Song court were the Dasheng bells cast under Huizong, which were discussed by multiple studies on Huizong's effort of ritual reform.²⁹

A third direction in scholarship explored the movement's effect on such aspects of Chinese culture and society as paleography, calligraphy, painting, geography, and local customs during the Song and later periods.³⁰ Antique objects played a critical role, for example, in the material construction of Chinese literati culture in the twelfth and thirteenth century. Shang-Zhou bronzes and ink rubbings of ancient inscriptions, together with objects of fine arts (such as masterpieces of ancient painting and calligraphy), were used to support Song literati's refined lifestyle.³¹ This connoisseurial approach to art and antiquity resonates with the core values in Chinese literati culture. The impact of the Song revival of ancient rituals is also evident in later periods in printed ritual manuals, especially the one compiled by the renowned classicist Zhu Xi (1130–1200).³²

Recent studies on specific details of the movement have helped to establish two paradigms for the advanced work.³³ In the first, the life and deeds of a leading Song antiquary were examined to reconstruct the part of the movement that was influenced by this individual. The three most extensively studied Song antiquaries in these studies were the eminent classicist and statesman Ouyang Xiu, the renowned literati painter Li Gonglin, and the controversial artist-emperor Huizong—all of whom were well known for their roles in literature, painting, and politics. Building on the existing understanding of these individuals by elaborating on their roles as antiquaries, these studies not only reconstructed parts of the movement involving these individuals but also positioned the movement in the overall history of the Song period through the connection of these key figures. In the second paradigm a single or series of critical events is examined in order to understand the historical development of the movement. The best documented events were perhaps the assemblage and dispersal of Emperor Huizong's collection of ancient bronze objects. Detailed accounts were given within decades of the occurrence by individuals who had personally witnessed the events.³⁴ The imperial collection not only led to the most ambitious catalogue of ancient bronze objects compiled in the Song antiquarian movement, *Xuanhe Erudite Antiquity Illustrated*, it was also closely related to the ritual reform carried out at the Song court under the auspices of the emperor. In addition, the imperial collection inspired the casting of contemporary ritual vessels during the Song, some of which are still extant.

These paradigms have generated tremendous results and greatly enriched our understanding of the Song antiquarian movement. However, because of their foci on individual antiquaries and historical events, they tend to

provide separate views of the movement rather than an overall understanding. Based on the categories of Song antiquarian activities recognized by Wang Guowei, this book approaches the movement through three major types of antiquarian practice—collecting, writing, and appropriating.³⁵ The approach highlights the essential role of ink rubbings in the movement as primary materials to be collected and studied, while underscoring the significance of Song antiquarian writing in documenting the movement's activities and in providing a forum for the discussion of different views of antiquity.

ANTIQUARIANISM IN SONG CHINA AND EARLY MODERN EUROPE

With a similar fascination with antiquity and a shared impetus to collect ancient objects, Song antiquarianism finds close parallels in early modern Europe, especially the Renaissance period. The parallels have drawn much attention from scholars of various subjects of antiquarianism.³⁶ Antiquaries in both Song China and Renaissance Europe made conscientious efforts to document, classify, and preserve ancient objects. The Italian humanist Poggio Bracciolini (1380–1459), in the oft-cited anecdote, lamented when encountering the ruins from ancient Rome on the Capitoline: “This once was a spectacle of the world, but now it has fallen. What a change! How disfigured it is now!” Stirred by the solemn scene, Poggio began to compose *Ruinarum urbis Romae description* (1431), a detailed record of the ancient city and the first antiquarian writing on the subject with an aim to preserve information about the dilapidated buildings.³⁷ He later professed his coming to terms with the inadequacy of human ability, clearly demonstrated in the downfall of something as grand as ancient Rome: “The force in the vicissitudes of fortune is indeed astonishing—it demolished to the ground even buildings of this size, which their founders had expected to escape such a fate. Almost nothing from these great structures was spared.”³⁸

Poggio would have found a kindred spirit in Ouyang Xiu, who was also stirred by the sight of a battered ancient monument and prompted to reflect on the limitation of the physical world with a sentiment that foreshadowed Poggio’s. Struck by the sight of a badly damaged stele from the early Tang period, Ouyang lamented: “I thus realized that all beings will eventually meet their ends. Even those as strong as metal and stone are not able to endure!”³⁹ Inspired by this realization, Ouyang began to collect ancient inscriptions and later wrote scores of colophons regarding their textual and

historical content. His collection was the first of its kind and was broadly emulated in the following centuries. This long tradition, started with Ouyang, eventually led to the establishment of scholarship on Chinese ancient inscriptions and artifacts, which continued to be practiced among Chinese literati as part of their scholarly pastimes in the Southern Song, Ming, and Qing periods.⁴⁰

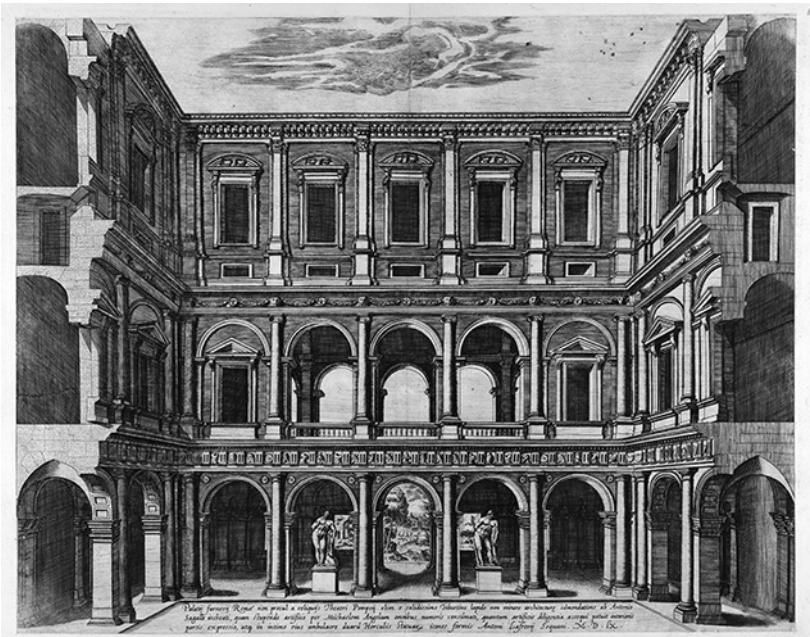
The so-called “antiquarian enterprise” in early modern Europe, inspired by the Renaissance humanist views on antiquity, involved collecting and examining ancient remnants by antiquaries from the fourteenth to the eighteenth century.⁴¹ The genealogy of European antiquaries started with the Italian scholar and poet Francesco Petrarch (1304–1374), who was credited with initiating the revival of classical learning of the Renaissance and the rediscovery of ancient manuscripts, including writing by the ancient Roman orator and statesman Cicero.⁴² Petrarch outlined his vision about the restoration of Roman antiquities in his writings, the most significant among which was his topographical study on ancient Rome. His works inspired antiquaries in the following century, especially Poggio and Flavio Biondo (1392–1463). Awed by the remarkable imagery of the ruins they saw in Rome, the two Italian humanists followed the footsteps of their predecessor and studied the city’s layout with the intent to rediscover the original structure and precise locations of the ruins. They attempted to recontextualize the ruins by linking them to their social and political functions.⁴³ Their research was thus conducted in a dual system: On the one hand, they surveyed the physical remains, including epigraphy, architecture, sculpture, and coins, and recorded what had survived. On the other hand, they consulted textual records, especially those from classical literature and historical archives about Rome, for interpretations of ancient affairs.⁴⁴

While both antiquaries were inspired to examine Roman antiquity, the goals of their pursuit were quite different. For Poggio the dilapidation of ancient Rome was an indication of the ravaging nature of time—a fate even the “eternal” city could not escape. Because of his interest in this eventuality, which he believed had separated the city’s past from its present, he incorporated his study of Roman ruins into his *Historiae de varietate fortunae* in 1448, a large composition consisting of several studies of historical events or characters, all of which attested to a gradual but imminent demise.⁴⁵ Contrary to Poggio, Biondo’s interest in ancient Rome was very much rooted in the city’s contemporary state. After more than a century of the Avignon Papacy and Western Schism (1309–1417), which left Rome mired

in depopulation and warlordism, the church returned to the city in the early fifteenth century and found it desperately in need of restoration.⁴⁶ Recognizing the reconstruction of ancient Rome a close parallel to the restoration of the contemporary one, Biondo was convinced that the city could only regain its prestige as the seat for the Holy Papacy on the foundation of a thorough revival of its antiquity. For this reason he composed *De Roma instaurata* in 1444–46, the first systematic reconstruction of ancient Rome consisting of actual measurements and historical accounts of the monuments. He dedicated the book to Pope Eugene IV (r. 1431–1447), who shared Biondo's political vision about the eternal city and whose patronage was instrumental to the revival of Roman antiquity.⁴⁷

The connection between antiquity and contemporaneous political agendas calls to mind the dramatic revival of ancient rituals that took place in Song China three centuries earlier. Inspired by the potent symbolism of antiquity in the Song belief of political mandate, Emperor Huizong (r. 1101–1125) and his court officials demonstrated a tenacious commitment to the revival of China's high antiquity almost two millennia earlier. Through their efforts, large-scale studies of ancient artifacts from the Shang-Zhou period (ca. 1500–300 BCE) were conducted, treaties on ancient rituals written, and numerous ritual objects imitating ancient forms produced and reproduced.⁴⁸ Similar to Biondo's reconstruction of ancient Rome, which had a profound influence on the Papacy's restoration in the fifteenth century, the Song antiquarian studies of ancient rituals guided the reform of state sacrifices performed by the Song court and eventually led to an overhaul of the entire Chinese ritual system.⁴⁹

The conceptual views of antiquity expressed by Poggio and Biondo gave way to a keen interest in actual artifacts, which grew into ambitious projects involving large-scale excavations and collections, epitomized by the celebrated Farnese Collection in the early sixteenth century. Best known for its ancient Roman sculpture, coins, and manuscripts, the collection was assembled under Pope Paul III (1468–1549) through the incorporation of several collections previously owned by Rome's elite families.⁵⁰ To retrieve objects directly from the source, Paul III ordered excavations to be conducted at several ancient Roman sites—most importantly the Roman Forum and the Baths of Caracalla.⁵¹ One of the great finds was a colossal sculpture of the third century, known today as the Farnese Hercules. The magnificent marble statue was excavated from the Roman baths and later installed in the courtyard of the Palazzo Farnese as the family's pride possession (figure I.2).⁵²



1.2. Anonymous. *Farnese Palazzo, Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae*. 1560. Engraving and etching, 39 × 49.5 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, 41.72(3.50).

The Farnese Collection was further expanded under the patronage of the pope's grandson, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (1520–1589), who continued the formidable endeavor through purchasing and excavation and appointed a group of prominent scholars to study the collection.⁵³ Continuing the trajectory set forth by previous antiquaries, which incorporated excavated objects in the study of antiquity, the Farnese scholars paid close attention to the formal features of ancient artifacts in their effort to reconstruct the past. For example, in his book on statesmen and philosophers of the ancient times, titled *Imagines et elogia virorum illustrium et eruditiorum* (first published in 1570), Fulvio Orsini (1529–1600), Farnese's librarian and classics scholar, composed an entry for each historical figure analyzed, including a brief biography summarized from ancient literature and epigraphic inscriptions. The entries were illustrated with images copied from actual coins, medallions, busts, herms, or sculpture (figure I.3). Serving as the collection's chief adviser and owning a large collection of ancient artifacts himself, Orsini made direct observations of the rich materials in both sources. Through a comparative study of portraits, he recognized iconographic



1.3. Fulvio Orsini (1529–1600), Antoine Lafréry (1512–1577), engraver. *Homer, Imagines et elogia virorum illustrium et eruditiorum ex antiquis lapidibus et nomismatibus*. 1570. Clark Art Institute Library.

traits associated with specific historical figures and thus initiated the study of ancient portraiture.⁵⁴

In another example, Augustinian monk Onofrio Panvinio (1530–1568), curator of the Farnese Collection, conducted research on Roman antiquity by broadly adopting excavated materials in his study. Focusing on subjects pertaining to state rituals and architecture, Panvinio produced reconstructions of ancient Roman ceremonies, such as triumphal processions and gladiatorial games, with captivating details informed by images from ancient objects, especially sculpture, friezes, and coins.⁵⁵ In both Orsini's and Panvinio's work, in their effort to reconstruct antiquity the formal features of ancient objects were used as primary sources. A vigorous interest in the formal elements of antiquity was also found in Song China, where typological and decorative details of ancient objects were carefully recorded and analyzed. Illustrations of these details were critical aspects of the research conducted by prominent antiquaries, such as the literati artist and collector Li Gonglin as well as court scholars Dong You (active ca. 1120) and Huang Bosi (1079–1118).⁵⁶ These antiquaries associated ritualistic meanings with the formal features of ancient objects and consequently established a unique, semiological approach to Chinese antiquity.

The fascination for Greco-Roman antiquity prompted antiquaries to pay attention to natural antiquities. A good example is found in the case of the French lawyer Peiresc (1580–1637), naturalist and patron of scholarly projects on antiquity and science. He was interested in a wide range of objects, including ancient coins, inscriptions, fossils, and animal specimens. For Peiresc, things from the past, natural or man-made, significant or trivial, were sources of information that would ultimately lead to knowledge necessary for a comprehensive understanding of the ancient world.⁵⁷ Rather than seeing his extensive and sundry collections as a showcase for erudition or vanity learning, Peiresc used them as materials to aid his reconstruction of the ancient world and to dismiss false claims about it.⁵⁸ His diligent study of nature and antiquity brings to mind the Song statesman and polymath Shen Kuo (1031–1095), whose interest in diverse topics pertaining to antiquity and nature ranged from archaeology to astronomy and from weaponry to water engineering. In an anthology of essays titled *Brush Talks from Dream Brook* (*Mengxi bitan*), Shen gave his insights on ancient artifacts, natural phenomena, technology, and medicine, which were energized with universal curiosity and characteristic of literati concerns for general humanity.⁵⁹



I.4. Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720–1778), *Veduta di Campo Vaccino* from *Vedute di Roma*. Ca. 1775. Etching, platemark: 40.7 × 54.5 cm; sheet: 50.9 × 65.2 cm. Yale University Art Gallery, 1953.48.2.

In addition to the common interests and visions held by antiquaries in Song China and early modern Europe, similar patterns are found in the material culture involving antiquarian ideals. Among numerous examples, the impressive collection of ancient statues, sarcophagi, altars, coins, and metals proudly displayed in the garden of the Earl of Arundel, Thomas Howard (1585–1646), reminds us of the imperial collection of ancient bronze bells, tripods, vases, and mirrors housed in Emperor Huizong's antique galleries.⁶⁰ The lasting popularity of the engravings of Roman ruins by Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720–1778) (figure I.4) across Europe recalls the broad circulation of Song illustrated catalogues of ancient ritual paraphernalia.⁶¹

In light of the intriguing parallels between Song antiquarianism and its European counterpart, a critical study of the latter would expectedly shed light on the former. Two basic types of inquiries into European antiquarianism are pertinent here: the first investigates the historical background that gave rise to the movement, while the second concerns the activities conducted by prominent antiquaries. Scholars believe that European antiquarianism

was established on the premises of Renaissance humanism, which was primarily concerned with the revival of classical ideals transmitted through ancient Greek and Roman writing and the recovery of knowledge preserved in ancient inscriptions, coins, sculpture, and architecture.⁶² The antiquarian impulse observed in early modern Europe was greatly inspired by reverence for the classics. Since the sixteenth century, classical education with a curriculum dominated by ancient Greek and Roman writers—such as the Greek philosopher Plato (428–348 BCE), the Roman statesman Cicero (106–43 BCE), and the Roman historian Livy (59 BCE–17 CE)—produced generations of learned men who were well versed in classical literature and strongly committed to the ideals illuminated by ancient thinkers. They believed that the models for moral values and good governance could only be found in the classics. Not only did they emulate the rhetorical skills and writing styles of the ancients, they also imitated the lifestyle and personalities of antiquity.

Similarly, deep-rooted historical origins are found in Song antiquarianism. Classical education was at the center of intellectual and cultural developments in China since the second century BCE, when the Confucian classics were canonized and sanctioned by the Han imperial court as the ultimate sources for political and moral guidance. Alongside the canonization of the Confucian classics, there developed a rich tradition of commentaries. Scholars of subsequent generations renewed the authority of the classics by providing interpretations of the ancient texts directly relevant to their own time. However, this tradition was interrupted in the historical period immediately before the Song, known as the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms (907–979). After the fall of Tang in the beginning of the tenth century, China was divided by a series of short-lived regimes in the north and small regional powers in the south, while non-Han states occupied the northern borders. This period of division resulted in the gradual decline of the once splendid Tang dynasty (618–907), which began as early as in the mid-Tang when a military rebellion forced the Tang emperor into exile. The devastating incident, known as the An-Shi Rebellion (755–763), after chief rebels An Lushan (703–757) and Shi Siming (703–761), lasted for almost a decade and brought about institutional and cultural changes that affected Chinese society for two hundred years.⁶³ One of the most critical effects was the development of militarism, which sustained various regional powers well into the tenth century.⁶⁴

During the earliest period of the Song dynasty, there was an urgent need to restore civil order and bring the domination of military powers to

an end in order to reunite China under the new regime. The wish to restore civil order, shared by the Song imperial court as well as society in general, was expressed in a series of literary compilations completed during the first decades of the new dynasty.⁶⁵ Aiming to resume the literary tradition obstructed by military operations since the mid-Tang, these compilations encouraged the recovery of ancient texts that had fallen into obscurity during the period of division. The enthusiasm in the early Song period for the restoration of a lost literary tradition was not dissimilar to the passion in Renaissance Europe for the recovery of literary works by ancient Greeks and Romans. However, the literary restoration in the early Song was strongly motivated by a common belief shared by the imperial court and scholar-officials that the survival of the Song state would depend on the revival of ancient traditions. The notion colored the Song vision of antiquity with a strong political overtone, which remained in the foreground of Song antiquarianism, even when its focus had shifted from dynastic survival to aesthetic concerns for the authenticity of antiquity.

Studies of the lives and works of prominent antiquaries constitute the majority of scholarship on European antiquarianism. The basic premise of these studies is established in the debate between antiquaries and historians in early modern Europe, which was believed to have originated in the times of antiquity itself. Historian Arnaldo Momigliano argued that since as early as the fifth century BCE, historical narratives dealing with political events or institutions were kept in a separate category from informational research that investigated various aspects of society in the remote past.⁶⁶ Works in the former category were done by “historians,” represented by Thucydides (460–395 BCE), whose primary concern was to formulate historical narratives in the epic tradition. Works in the latter category belonged to the so-called “antiquaries,” represented by Hippias (fifth to fourth century BCE), who, as described in Plato’s *Hippias Major*, was erudite regarding genealogies of heroes and men, names of local officials, and the origins of ancient cities. Knowledge of an “antiquarian,” such as Hippias’s erudition, lent itself easily to classification rather than to narrative. The art of systematic documentation of knowledge was perfected by Marcus Terentius Varro (116–27 BC), who wrote extensively on categories of language, religion, and ancient customs based on material evidence he accumulated.⁶⁷ For his contribution to the systematic reconstruction of the ancient world based on contemporaneous documents, Varro was regarded as the founder of antiquarian studies.⁶⁸

Although some emphasized dialogue rather than opposition between historians and antiquaries, this dichotomous relationship between the two camps is well acknowledged among scholars in general.⁶⁹ In this model a historian would formulate certain ideals or questions pertaining to the development of history. He would conduct his research by seeking out evidence from historical documents to support his theories. The results of his inquiry would be presented in the form of a coherent narrative that featured philosophical reflections on the progression of human civilization. In contrast, an antiquary would be driven by his fascination with vestiges from the past. He would seek and collect remnants of historical monuments or objects of relic-like value. He would categorize objects following a classification system based on the intrinsic qualities of the objects rather than their relevance to historical narratives. Lastly, the antiquary would offer a description concerning material culture of the ancient world rather than responding to historical writings. Working under distinctively different methodological principles and toward different goals, historians often criticize antiquaries for laboring over inconsequential aspects of the past without advancing historical understanding. Antiquaries accuse historians of boasting grand theories about human civilization without material evidence.⁷⁰ The gap between historians and antiquaries in early modern Europe was eventually bridged by such momentous works as *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776–1789) by Edward Gibbon (1737–1794) and *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* (1764) by Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717–1768), which consulted primary sources, such as ancient inscriptions and physical objects, and secondary studies by both historians and scholars to formulate a view of antiquity that was at once philosophical and erudite.⁷¹

Despite the close parallels between Song antiquarianism and its European counterpart, the dichotomous model reveals two fundamental differences that point to some fundamental features of Song antiquarianism. The separate notions of historians and antiquaries, which have characterized European intellectual history since the times of Thucydides and Hippias, cannot be applied to Song antiquarianism. Song antiquaries and historians shared common concerns and practices related to antiquity. Song antiquaries rigorously analyzed the historical relevance of ancient objects and did so as a primary goal of their study. Song historians routinely collected and studied things and texts from the past as essential elements in their research. The overlapping interest between these two groups can be attributed to the

notion of “history” (*shi*) in Chinese traditional historiography that originated as early as in the first century BCE. In this view, human history was guided by the universal principle of Dao, and its meaning can be fathomed through the course of historical incidents, deeds of individuals, and the presence of things from the past.⁷² This concept was first exemplified in *Records of the Grand Historians* (Taishigong shu, commonly known as *Shiji*) by the eminent historian Sima Qian (ca. 145–188 BCE), who underscored the quintessential values of “history” in his writing by explicitly commenting on the moral lessons of historical cases. In addition to consulting earlier texts, Sima employed in his writing observational information he acquired firsthand from various visits to sites and monuments related to specific historical events. The use of direct evidence in historical writing foreshadowed the use of antiquarian materials in Song historical study.⁷³

With its dual nature that focused on a philosophical underpinning and empirical evidence, the traditional notion of “history” bound the two intellectual branches of history and antiquarianism together from the beginning of Chinese historiography and consequently united Song historians and antiquaries in their common pursuit of antiquity. For example, the leading Song antiquary Ouyang Xiu was recognized first and foremost for his historical studies.⁷⁴ In his *New History of the Five Dynasties* (Xin Wudai shi, ca. 1036–1053), which dealt with the political history of the period that directly preceded the Song, Ouyang streamlined details of historical incidents to form lucid narratives that could best elucidate the significance of the Five Dynasties in the overall development of Chinese history. In addition to the historical narratives, his commentaries critiqued events and personalities by adopting the model of “praise and blame” (*baobian*) instigated in the canonical commentaries to the *Spring and Autumn Annals* (Chunqiu), a chronicle of the Lu State from 722 to 481 BCE.⁷⁵ Ouyang’s commentaries thoughtfully reflected on issues in Confucian morals as well as problems pertaining to the political mandate and cultural authority of various regimes in the Five Dynasties. The commentaries demonstrated his historical sensitivity.⁷⁶

Relying primarily on archival documents for his research, Ouyang considered ancient inscriptions and objects as reliable as contemporary official records for the reconstruction of history, because ancient inscriptions were produced contemporaneously with the history in question. To use antiquarian materials for historical research was a main reason that compelled him to collect, as Ouyang indicated in the preface to the inventory of his antique

collection. In fact, antiquarian materials were perceived as primary evidence for history by the majority of Song antiquaries, who considered themselves historians or took studying history as one of their most important occupations. The union between historians and antiquaries, which eventually took place in early modern Europe after centuries of conflict in the so-called “antiquarian enterprise,” was unquestionably a defining feature of Song antiquarianism from the onset of the movement.

The second difference between Song and European antiquaries has to do with the materials they studied. While the use of ancient objects as historical evidence demonstrated a methodological maturity in Song antiquarianism, it also imposed a limitation that becomes clear when we compare *Britannia*, a chorographical survey of British antiquity by William Camden (1551–1623), to Ouyang’s *Records of Collecting Antiquity*. The ancient materials discussed in *Britannia* ranged widely from coins, altarpieces, statues, and tombstones, to archival records, manuscripts, and writings of ancient authors.⁷⁷ Corresponding with his collector friends—such as John Senhouse (d. 1604), Sir Robert Cotton (1571–1631), Lord William Howard (1563–1640), and Bishop Francis Godwin (1562–1633)—Camden was informed of the actual locations of numerous ancient monuments as well as the inscriptions they bore.⁷⁸ He carefully wove together data from a wide range of ancient materials into a matrix, with special attention given to the content of their inscriptions and geographic origins. The dual foci yielded a geohistorical portrait of Britain under Rome that was localized in both space and time. Unlike Camden, Ouyang’s choice of ancient materials was exceedingly limited. His collection included only ancient objects that were inscribed with texts, although those without inscriptions were also available. For the objects in his collection Ouyang commented only on their inscriptions, while overlooking the physical features that actually carried the inscribed texts. Unlike Camden, Ouyang showed little interest in the physical locations of ancient objects; only a small portion of his commentaries referred to the provenance of the monuments.⁷⁹

Contrary to his disregard for the physical presence of ancient objects, Ouyang was quite concerned with their historicity primarily conveyed through inscriptions. This was demonstrated by the often lengthy discussions about the historical events and figures mentioned in the inscriptions.⁸⁰ His pertinacious focus on the inscriptions should be understood in the context of the text-based Chinese elite culture. As an essential element in state rites, text in early China dominated the access to heavenly mandate and

had been seen as a symbol of political authority.⁸¹ In later periods, writing (especially historical literature) was given priority as the primary means to uphold cultural orthodoxy.⁸² While the physical features of ancient objects suggested a material connection to the past, their textual inscriptions (both symbols of authority and depositories of historical information) indicated the dual roles of ancient objects as relics and archives. These roles were quintessential aspects of the study of Song antiquarianism.

The Song interest in the inscriptions helped to explain a peculiar feature of the Song antiquarian movement: many collections assembled were in fact ink rubbings of inscriptions found on large ancient monuments, not the actual monuments themselves. Ink rubbings as a medium bridged the gap between the historical significance of ancient objects recognized by Song antiquaries and the often dilapidated physical condition of these monuments. More important, the format extracted the inscriptions and transformed them into texts. The transformation enabled an easy adaptation of ancient objects into the writing-based Song intellectual elite culture. The use of ink rubbings was so preferred among Song antiquaries that even when the original ancient objects were available ink rubbings were chosen as the primary medium for engagement, as illustrated in a study by Dong You (fl. first half of the twelfth century). A specialist in ancient ritual bronzes and inscriptions at Emperor Huizong's court, Dong chose to work with ink rubbings in his discussion of bronze inscriptions, although he had full access to the original objects in the imperial collection.⁸³

CONCLUSION

The historical context, material features, and common practices of Song antiquarianism contribute to a basic picture of this complex movement. Political and intellectual elites began to preserve ancient objects during the eleventh century, largely enthused by a common desire to restore civil order after the chaos experienced in the late Tang and Five Dynasties and by the need to reinstate the authority of China's high antiquity for the assurance of their cultural privilege and political validity. Although the antiquarian impetus was palpable throughout society during this period, the vigorous interest of antiquaries in particular types of objects—namely ritual bronzes and commemorative stelae, which had ritualistic and historical functions—indicates the political nature of the movement, which involved mostly the Song imperial court and its high officials. Inscriptions of historical content

found on many ancient objects further expanded these objects' significance and granted them status as both cultural relics and historical archives. With a keen interest in text and object, Song antiquaries carefully studied the physical features of the ancient objects and the historical content of their inscriptions, often through the medium of ink rubbings. The effort resulted in major writings about the material culture of Chinese high antiquity, which were pivotal in the spread of archaic styles inspired by the stylistic features of ancient objects.

OUYANG XIU'S RECORDS OF COLLECTING ANTIQUITY

SONG ANTIQUARIANISM OCCUPIES A SPECIAL PLACE IN THE HEART of Chinese literati. Ever since the Song scholar-official Ouyang Xiu compiled his greatly emulated work *Records of Collecting Antiquity* in 1062, objects from the past have been omnipresent in traditional Chinese scholarly discourse on antiquity, prompting inquiry: What can one learn about antiquity from these objects? How does one reconstruct the past through these material fragments? How do objects from the past affirm or challenge historical narratives that have often been based strictly on textual sources? For those scholars who were conscientious in fulfilling their roles in this discourse, questions regarding ancient objects became relevant to their individual beliefs: How does one engage with ancient objects in order to advocate one's own perception of antiquity in competition with those of others? How does one employ ancient objects in expressing one's views on aesthetic and moral judgments, cosmological thinking, or even current events? The discourse that centered on ancient objects ultimately became a forum for intellectual debate and self-expression.

Many of these questions were first raised during the Song antiquarian movement. The types of ancient objects collected and scrutinized came to constitute the core of antiquarian materials and continued to attract the attention of Chinese literati of later times. Many Song catalogues featured prominently in the infatuation of later literati, even after most of the objects included had been destroyed during various man-made or natural calamities. Connoisseurial practices popular among Song antiquaries—such as antique collecting, cataloguing, and appraising—became essential curricula, along with painting, calligraphy, and poetry, in the repertoire of later

literati activities. Well-known Song collectors, such as Ouyang, were greatly admired in later periods by followers who continued to observe the antiquarian tradition.

PROBLEMS WITH THE STUDY OF RECORDS OF COLLECTING ANTIQUITY

The unfailing interest in ancient objects among Chinese literati manifested itself in the act of collecting, as appropriately indicated in the name of Ouyang's *Records of Collecting Antiquity*. His collection established a precedent for a new cultural practice that brought together objects that formally belonged to different groups. These objects were placed in a new category named *jinshi*, literally "metal and stone," in reference to ancient ritual bronzes and commemorative steles, the two primary types of objects in Ouyang's collection. The forming of this new category of intellectual pursuit led to the emergence of a new type of study known as *jinshixue* (the study of metal and stone). The discipline was built upon an intense interest in the ways in which these two types of objects connected to the past and how they embodied the concepts of antiquity (*gu*). *Jinshi* studies played a fundamental role in the development of larger and more inclusive antiquarian studies in Chinese intellectual history.¹

The forming of this new category of objects as *collectables* anticipated the great enthusiasm on the part of Chinese collectors and antiquaries since the Song. The collecting of *jinshi* materials, like that of other cultural artifacts, greatly influenced not just individual collectors but also society as a whole. It involved collectors of specific background, especially those who enjoyed cultural prestige and occupied high positions in the Chinese social and political hierarchy. Because of this, *jinshi* materials came to be associated with fundamental values in Chinese culture and society. The highly desirable status of the materials also granted them great monetary value. As precious commodities in the newly established antique market, *jinshi* materials were often bought and sold, and sometimes plundered or stolen. The stature of *jinshi* materials, as cultural symbols and highly priced commodities, was the result of a combination of subjective judgment on the part of the collectors and the social, political, and economic operation of society at large. In other words, the "collectability" of *jinshi* materials is a result of constant negotiation between individuals and various factors in the society.² It is important to begin this study with Ouyang and his collection, because he helped to define the criteria of Song antiquaries and his

collection demonstrated the process of negotiating values and offered alternative strategies for collecting.

Accounts from Ouyang and descendants who inherited his collection indicate that the collection consisted of more than one thousand items. Questions regarding the constitution of the collection must have been raised. However, instead of addressing these questions directly, Ouyang gave a curious description of what he had assembled: “There are things from as early as King Mu of Zhou, down to the Qin, Han, Sui, Tang and the Five Dynasties, from as far as the Four Seas and the Nine States, from famous mountains and great lakes, from barren cliffs and desolate valleys, from wasted forests and ruined tombs, things by gods and demons, and of unspeakable strange origins. All are included in *Records of Collecting Antiquity*.³

Beginning with King Mu of Western Zhou, a legendary ruler of the tenth century BCE, and ending with the Five Dynasties, which immediately preceded the Song, Ouyang recounted a chronological succession that spanned two millennia from China’s high antiquity to the most recent past. In addition, he pointed out the all-encompassing provenance of his collection by using “Four Seas” and “Nine States”—terms from the *Book of Documents* (*Shangshu*), the earliest Chinese writing on political history—referring to the entire world as conceived in ancient China. Although Ouyang’s statement suggests a wide range of temporal and geographical origins for the items in the collection, it does not provide any concrete information about their physical features. He was equally elusive regarding the manner by which he amassed a collection of such large quantity. In the preface Ouyang anticipated inquiries into this matter but responded to them without revealing much detail.

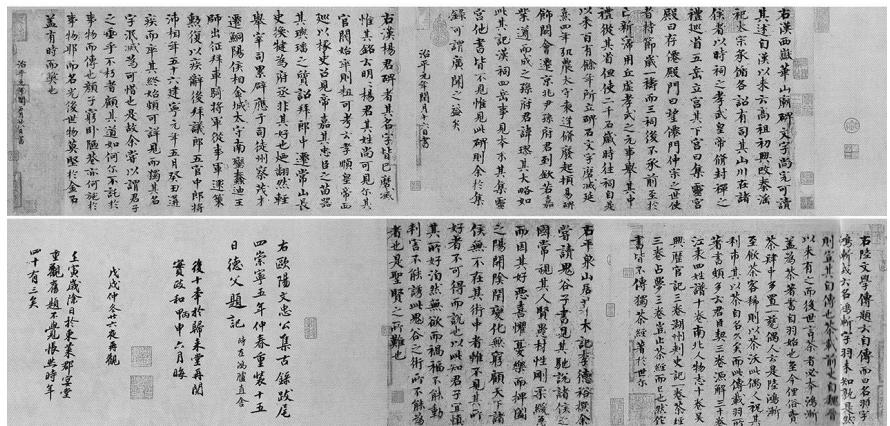
[As to assembling a collection,] well, being capable of it is not as good as being interested in it; being interested in it is not as good as being devoted to it. My temperament is stubborn and I am fascinated by antiquity. Whatever others in the world covet I have absolutely no desire for. Because of this, I am able to devote myself to what I like. Regarding the matter [of collecting antiquity], my intention is for sure earnest. Even though my ability is not adequate, I still managed to accomplish [the task].⁴

Questions regarding the ways in which the collection was assembled are essential in our attempt to understand Ouyang’s collection, because they investigate the ideological underpinnings and suggest what “antiquity”

meant to the Song antiquary in the most concrete and materialistic sense. The questions help to illuminate the manners in which Song antiquaries such as Ouyang engaged antiquarian activities as a cultural practice. By the same token, similar questions regarding Song antiquarian practices in general will help us to understand the nature and scope of antiquarian materials studied during the Song, as well as how “antiquarian impulses” were expressed through material culture.⁵ With the understanding of the materialistic and practical aspects of Ouyang’s collection, we will explore Song antiquarian practices in general for a broader understanding.

Although Ouyang’s collection is almost entirely lost, it can still be examined through textual sources. What we know about the collection came mostly from *Colophons from the Records of Collecting Antiquity* (*Jigu lu bawei*), an anthology of Ouyang’s commentaries on items in his collection. Originally written by the collector himself, these commentaries were inscribed on the back of works as postscripts, later published under one title after Ouyang’s death.⁶ Four of these handwritten postscripts are still extant (figure 1.1).⁷ These commentaries often discussed the history and authorship of items in the collection and revealed Ouyang’s views on issues regarding antiquity and aesthetics.⁸ Some texts by other collectors, which dealt with similar types of objects—for example, Zhao Mingcheng’s *Records of Metal and Stone* (*Jinshi lu*)—contained information about items also mentioned in Ouyang’s colophons; other illustrated texts, such as the *Illustrated Catalogue for Examining Antiquity* (*Kaogu tu*) by Lü Dalin (1040–1093), preserved images of several ancient bronze vessels also included in Ouyang’s collection.⁹ Rendered in line drawing and reproduced in woodblock print, these images offered visual evidence for how they once were. In another example, surviving chapters of the *Continuation of Annotations to the Han-Wei Stelae* (*Li xu*) by Hong Kuo (1117–1184) preserved images of decorative motifs found on some Han stelae that Ouyang had discussed in his colophons.

Despite the numerous titles of antiquarian texts compiled during the Song period, the attempt to study Song antiquarian activities through textual sources is complicated by the problem that a large proportion of these writings did not survive. Bibliographic studies indicate that there were at least 117 Song titles devoted to antiquarian subjects, but merely 28 are still extant.¹⁰ With only a few exceptions, these surviving texts existed in later editions, several hundred years after their original publication.¹¹ The troubling situation was somewhat lessened with the progress made by Chinese scholars in the field of textual studies (*banben xue*) during the eighteenth



1.1. Ouyang Xiu (1007–1072). *Colophons from the Records of Collecting Antiquity*. Ca. 1064. Ink on paper, 27.2 × 171.2 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.

and nineteenth centuries. These scholars restored Song antiquarian texts by combing through post-Song literature in search of fragments of lost texts with the attempt to reconstruct the originals and by collating various existing editions to authenticate their content. Nineteenth-century antiquarian Miao Quansun (1844–1919) restored more than two-thirds of the *Inventory of the Records of Collecting Antiquity* (*Jigu lu mu*), a list of ancient objects in Ouyang's collection, compiled by the collector's son Ouyang Fei (1047–1113), by going through quotes and references that had survived in various texts produced before the thirteenth century.¹² The reconstructed inventory has provided crucial information for our understanding of Ouyang's collection. In light of the limitation in the sources, it is important to employ all available texts about the collection in addition to Ouyang's own texts, which include the inventory lists of the collection, essays or anecdotal accounts by others on the collection and collector, Ouyang's correspondence pertaining to his collection and collecting efforts, other contemporaneous or later Song texts with information about Ouyang's collection and Song collections in general, and other relevant Song antiquarian writings extant or restored in later periods.

OUYANG AND THE REVIVAL OF GUWEN (ARCHAIC WRITING)

Among his many accomplishments, Ouyang Xiu was recognized for his influence on Song historiography, political theories, literature, and the

development of Neo-Confucian thought.¹³ Growing up in a family of modest means and being orphaned in early childhood, Ouyang never received a formal education.¹⁴ His talent and interest in literature were nonetheless observed early on. A story about his childhood recorded in the official history of the Song foreshadowed his becoming a leader in a literary movement that was to occur in the mid-eleventh century. As a young boy from a poor family, Ouyang had few books of his own and had to borrow books from wealthier neighbors. One time he found in a neighbor's house an incomplete set of works by Han Yu (768–824), a literary revolutionary of the Tang dynasty (618–906). Han advocated an austere prosaic literary form when most writers at the time composed in an ornate and extravagant style. He denounced the contemporary high-blown rhythmic format of expression in favor of the much plainer and reserved prose inspired by archaic texts of the third century CE and earlier.¹⁵

Because of the stylistic kinship between Han's plain prose and works from China's high antiquity, writings by Han and his followers were recognized as archaic writing (*guwen*). Intending to promote more than just an archaic literary style, Han called for a return to the "original way," which, he believed, was preserved in texts from ancient times, especially the Confucian classics. He contended that writing should serve as a vehicle for the transmission of ancient ideals and Confucian teachings. Therefore, to practice archaic writing, one not only had to write in an archaic manner; one was also required to comprehend the classics properly and behave in accordance with the moral values conveyed in the ancient texts. For Han, the problem of contemporary writing was its emphasis on form, which reduced a writer's aspiration from cultivating moral values to pursuing the craft of writing. The overt moral message in Han's literary movement was a result of the aftermath of the eight-year-long rebellion led by military general An Lushan (703–757) and his cohort, which left China in wars among regional militia groups and political struggles between recalcitrant eunuchs and incompetent rulers. Han's attempt to restore ancient Chinese ideologies through an archaic writing style represented a common view among Chinese intellectual elites that sought solutions to contemporary problems in ancient models. The inclusion of Ouyang's early exposure to Han's archaic texts in Ouyang's official biography alludes to his role as Han's successor in the Song version of the same literary movement intended to continue the moral obligation taken up by Chinese literati since the late eighth century.

Many years later, in 1057, Ouyang was appointed to take charge of the palace examination, the highest level of competition in which the classical learning and literary capacity of students from all over the country were put to the test.¹⁶ The appointment affirmed Ouyang's prestigious position as the leading intellectual of his time. It also presented an opportunity to direct the future development of political ideals, for the competition winners, selected on the basis of Ouyang's standard, would form the elite core of the civil service. Ouyang announced that he would not test examinees on their ability to compose high-flown poetic writing but on their thoughts, expressed in the archaic style, regarding how the classics could be applied to current social issues.¹⁷ Sharing Han's sentiments, Ouyang hoped to seek solutions to contemporary problems in ancient models. In an essay inscribed on the back of a book by Han, which Ouyang had kept since his childhood, Ouyang acknowledged Han's influence and encouraged all literati to keep improving themselves until they reach Han's level.¹⁸ The faith in the classics and ancient models as sources of authority in dealing with current affairs was firmly planted in the minds of Chinese literati by the time of Ouyang. Even in the late eleventh century, when the Song court was bitterly divided between reformists and conservatives, Song literati-officials, regardless of their drastically different views on social and economic issues, drew support for their own positions from the same group of classical literature, appealed to the same ancient authority, and criticized their opponents for not understanding antiquity correctly.¹⁹

If we credit the sense of mission in Han Yu's revival of archaic writing to his wish to restore social order and the diminishing confidence in Chinese cultural traditions threatened by non-Chinese rebels, what were the social and historical conditions that motivated Ouyang to initiate the Song version of the same movement? Song China inherited the military disadvantages that had developed immediately before the founding of the dynasty, when the Khitans and the Jurchens of the northeast as well as the Tanguts and Mongols of the northwest grew strong while China weakened through civil wars and division. In the early decades of the Song, China was under a constant threat imposed by its unfriendly northern neighbors. However, the threat subsided greatly in the eleventh century due to a peace treaty contracted in 1004 between the Song and the Khitan.²⁰ This peace, which lasted more than a century, allowed Chinese society to thrive and flourish. Unlike Han, Ouyang had lived his entire life in a time of relative peace and prosperity.

Beyond the immediate conditions of Song geopolitics, what gave rise to Ouyang's fascination with antiquity?

A thorough understanding of the social and historical factors that provided a context for Ouyang's revival of archaic writing requires careful research much beyond the scope of this book. However, we can gain a clue to his fascination with antiquity by reading a letter he wrote to Cai Xiang (1012–1067), with whom Ouyang shared a life-long friendship and a common passion for ancient epigraphy.²¹ Likely written in 1062 or 1063, the letter alludes to the circumstances under which Ouyang's collection began.

Earlier when I was in Heshuo, I could not rest idly. I had started collecting and recording the bronze and stone inscriptions left from previous ages. None of the archaic texts and rare graphs from the Three Dynasties onward have I not had in the collection. . .²² From the *yijou* year of the Qingli era (1045) down to the *renyin* year of the Jiayou era (1062), it took me eighteen years to accumulate one thousand scrolls.²³

The year 1045 was a critical time in Ouyang's career as a statesman. After his return from Heshuo, a case was brought against him by his political enemies for some alleged misconduct within his household.²⁴ He was put in jail during the trial, while details of his private life were discussed publicly in the imperial court. Not until after three consecutive trials, each one chaired by a different judge, none of which could reach a conclusive verdict, did the wave of persecution recede. Although the political motivation behind these accusations against Ouyang was clear even to the emperor, who thought quite highly of him, he was nonetheless demoted, on the grounds of a minor tax violation, to a post in Chuzhou, a mountainous rural region in the lower Yangtze River valley (in today's Anhui), and to a few other remote posts after that.²⁵

The demotion, which continued for almost a decade until Ouyang was finally summoned back to the capital in 1054, proved to be a fruitful period in his intellectual life. The rural surroundings at these remote posts provided Ouyang an asylum to escape the political antagonism in the Song court. Many of his seminal works, such as the celebrated *An Account of Old Drunkard's Pavilion* (*Zuiwengting ji*, 1045), which innovatively combined archaic prose with self-expression, and the previously discussed *New History of the Five Dynasties* were written during this period of political exile. Another important work by Ouyang that took shape during this era was the

Original Meaning of the Book of Odes (*Shi benyi*), a study of the earliest anthology of Chinese poems dated between 1000 and 600 BCE.²⁶ In this study Ouyang denounced the orthodox interpretations of the poems, which had been transmitted through layers of traditional commentaries since the second century BCE. Instead of relying on the commentaries, Ouyang advocated a direct reading of the poems' original texts for an authentic and unbiased understanding of the poems themselves.²⁷ Although the writing of *Original Meaning of the Book of Odes* spanned more than a decade, Ouyang's goal for this work was clear at its inception: to preserve the *original* state of these ancient poems in order to "learn only from the ancients." It was in this context, and in a similar reflective mood, that Ouyang began to assemble his collection of antiquity.

COLLECTING ANCIENT INSCRIPTIONS IN INK RUBBING

The first piece Ouyang acquired for his collection was of antiquarian as well as sentimental value, from a work he had known since childhood. Many years later he could still recall his poignant reunion with it, as he wrote in 1063:

To the right is the Stele for the Temple of Confucius. Yu Shinan composed the text and inscribed the calligraphy. When I was a child, I once acquired this stele [inscription] and learned how to write calligraphy from it. At that time its carving was still in an excellent condition. Twenty-some years had passed, and once again I acquired this inscription. It had become all broken and damaged as such! Because of this I realized that all beings will eventually meet their ends. Even those as strong as metal and stone are not able to last on their own. For this reason, I began to have the desire to collect texts left behind from previous ages in order to safe-keep them. I have done it for eighteen years now and have acquired a thousand scrolls. One can certainly say that [my collection] is rich! Written on the twenty-ninth day of the ninth month in the eighth year of [the] Jiayou Era (1063).²⁸

The stele in question, known as the Confucius Temple Stele (*Kongzi miao-tang bei*), had a long and convoluted prehistory. The original stele was commissioned in the winter of 627 by the second emperor of the Tang dynasty, Taizong (r. 627–649). Taizong worked hard in helping his father,

Gaozu (r. 618–626), the founder of the Tang, defeat competing military forces and secure the empire in its vulnerable early stage. However, Taizong was not chosen to be Gaozu's heir apparent, probably because Taizong was not Gaozu's firstborn. He was the second son. China had since the late Shang period upheld the rule of primogeniture as an ideal system for political succession. It would be reasonable for Gaozu to set a proper precedent at the beginning of the new dynasty by implementing the rule of primogeniture and choosing his firstborn, Jiancheng (589–626), as his successor.²⁹

Suspicious of and threatened by the impressive presence of Taizong, the crown prince plotted to keep Taizong under control. The hostility between the two brothers escalated over time and eventually resulted in horrendous bloodshed within the royal family in 626 CE. Taizong ended up killing Jiancheng and his younger brothers, as well as all their male descendants, to avoid retribution. Two months later, the elderly emperor Gaozu abdicated and allowed Taizong to take the throne.³⁰ The abhorrent massacre of the imperial family cast a dark shadow during the reign of Taizong, who was otherwise widely praised in traditional Chinese historiography as a virtuous and worthy ruler.

Eager to claim legitimacy by appealing to the ancient authority, Taizong ordered the restoration of the Confucius Temple in the capital Chang'an (in today's Xi'an) soon after ascending the throne. A commemorative stele was erected upon completion, on which a long inscription, composed and inscribed by highly esteemed scholar-official and calligrapher Yu Shinan (558–638), paid tribute to Confucius and his sacred teachings and illuminated the virtues of the current emperor. The stele did not last long, however, as it was destroyed in a fire. Only the image of the inscription was preserved in a dozen or so ink rubbings taken from the stele before its destruction.³¹ In 703, after another violent political conflict within the imperial family, Empress Wu (624–705), who successfully became the first woman in Chinese history to rule in her own name, ordered the remaking of Taizong's stele based on a rubbing taken before the fire.³² She gave the stele a fresh title, the Great Zhou Confucius Temple Stele (Da Zhou Kongzi miaotang bei), and ordered her heir apparent, Li Dan (662–716), to inscribe the title with his calligraphy. By announcing the new dynastic order “the Great Zhou,” alluding to the ancient Zhou dynasty (mid-eleventh century to 221 BCE), Empress Wu intended to claim authority from Chinese high antiquity and transferred the ruling mandate from the Tang royal line to herself. This second stele probably stood until the beginning of the tenth

century, but it was already badly damaged from uprisings and invasions, and many characters in the stele inscription became illegible by the mid-ninth century, as mentioned in a colophon composed in 866.³³

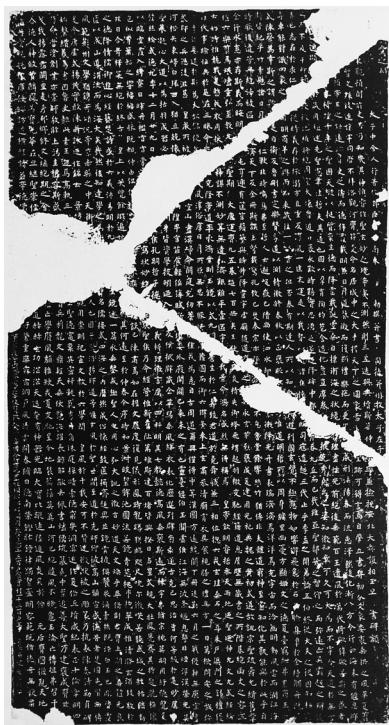
During the first few years of the Song, a third stele was made based on a rubbing taken from the second one erected in 703. There is good reason to believe that by this time the 703 stele was already destroyed. In 904 the Tang capital was sacked during a military coup, forcing the Tang court to move to Luoyang. The third stele was commissioned by Wang Yanchao (914–986), a military general known for his commitment to traditional Confucian teachings.³⁴ Wang was in charge of the area of Jingzhao, including the old Tang capital and its vicinity, which had been lying in ruins since the fall of the Tang. After the newly established Song court finally brought peace to this area, Wang made great efforts to restore the city. One of his efforts was to restore the Confucius Temple in 962. The third stele must have been erected as part of the restoration. This time, the stele survived until modern times, largely because it was under the protection of a stelae museum established in 1087 by the local authority on the grounds of the Confucius Temple.³⁵ The stelae museum has continued to function as a shelter and exhibition hall since the eleventh century. The stele still stands today in the stelae museum, now called Xi'an Stele Forest Museum (figure 1.2).³⁶

The third stele for the Temple of Confucius, erected in 962, must have been in very good condition until an earthquake shook the Xi'an area in the winter of 1556 and broke it into three pieces.³⁷ The fact that a good portion of the inscription, apparently unaffected by the earthquake, is still clear and legible supports this assumption (figure 1.3). The suggestion that the stele had remained in good condition between the tenth and sixteenth century makes Ouyang's lament over the stele's deterioration a puzzling statement. Why did he utter such a lament over a fine stele? What did he actually see? An ink rubbing album of the stele inscription, commonly referred to by connoisseurs of Chinese rubbings as the *Linchuan Rubbing Album* (*Linchuan ben*), provides insight into this curious problem.³⁸

The *Linchuan Rubbing Album*, assembled in the mid-fourteenth century or earlier, consists of thirty-five pages of rubbings; each page contains sixty or so characters (figure 1.4). The layout of the album, with each page much smaller than the original stele inscription, is a result of a particular mounting method, called "cut mounting" (*jianzhuang*). In this method the original rubbing was cut into strips along the lines in between columns; each strip was trimmed down to the length suitable to a loose album page; rubbing



1.2. Yu Shinan (558–638). Confucius Temple Stele. 962. Stone stele, h. 280 cm.
Xi'an Stele Forest Museum, Xi'an.

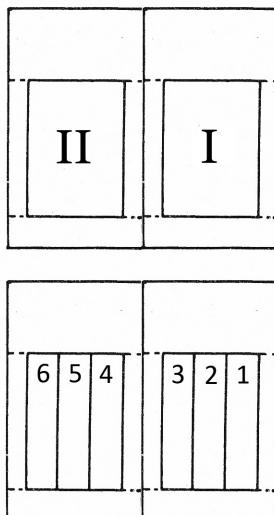
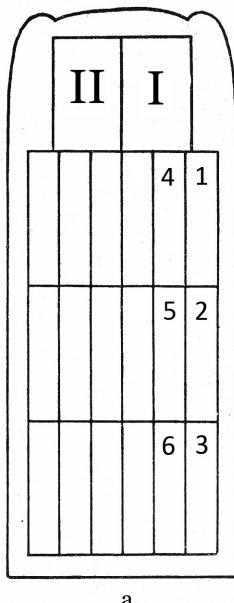


1.3. Ink rubbing of Confucius Temple Stele. Recarved stele dated 962. Rubbing taken after 1556. Ink on paper, h. 195 cm. From *Beijing tushuguan cang Zhongguo lidai shike tuopian huibian*, 11: 7.

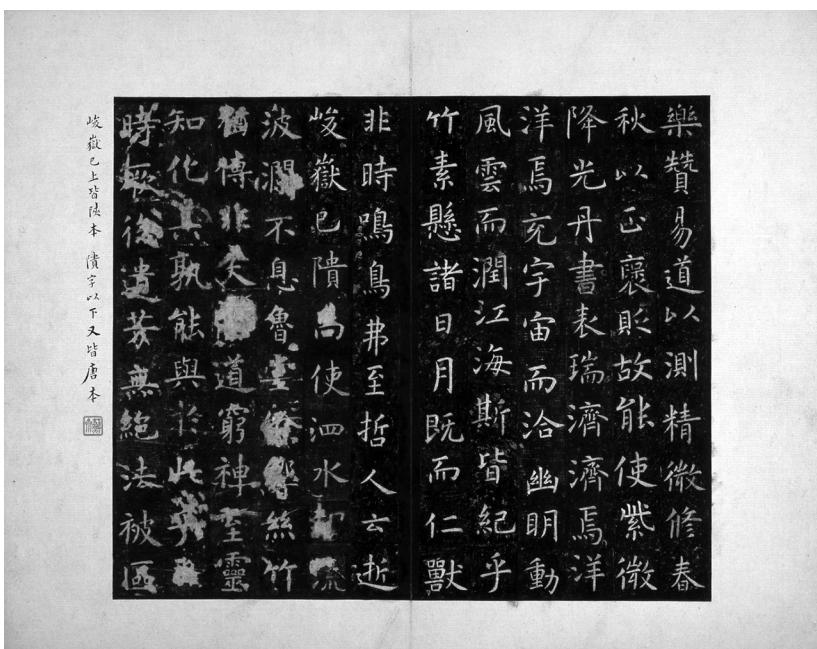
strips were mounted side by side, following the sequence of the text; and the loose pages were masked and bound into an album book (figure 1.5).³⁹ The easily identifiable rubbing strips on the first page of the Linchuan album attest to the use of the cut-mounting technique. The *Linchuan Rubbing Album* is particularly important to connoisseurs of Chinese rubbings, for it is said to be the oldest surviving rubbing taken from the destroyed Tang stele commissioned by Empress Wu. A colophon by Weng Fanggang (1733–1818), an authority in calligraphy and rubbing, indicates that there are indeed elements of a Tang rubbing in this album.⁴⁰ However, Weng also points out that the album is a composite of rubbings from Tang and later times. The cut-mounting method allows rubbing strips of different sources to be mounted in the same album. The stark contrast in the conditions of two pages from the *Linchuan Rubbing Album* indeed suggests that they are of different origins (figure 1.6). A line in the beginning of the album indicates that the heir apparent, Li Dan, had inscribed the stele title. The more damaged page of the two is likely to have come from the second stele commissioned by Empress Wu. The other page, which is in better condition, is



1.4. Rubbing of *Confucius Temple Stele* from the *Linchuan Rubbing Album*. Rubbing datable to the eighth century. Ink on paper. Mitsui Memorial Museum, Tokyo.



1.5. Cut-mounting technique: (left) A stele rubbing in its entirety. (right) The stele title and body text are cut into pieces and mounted as a book. Based on figure in Robert H. van Gulik, *Chinese Pictorial Art as Viewed by the Connoisseur* (Rome: Istituto italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1958).



1.6. Rubbing from the *Linchuan Rubbing Album*, showing a combination of the old stele and a recarved stele. Mitsui Memorial Museum, Tokyo.

likely to have come from a later carving, most likely the third stele made in the early Song.

Mixing rubbings from new and old sources in one album was a common practice during Song times. Huang Tingjian (1045–1105), a Song literatus famed for his calligraphy, poetry, and archaic prose, had seen several rubbing albums of the stele inscription for the Temple of Confucius, in which rubbings of a new carving were used to replace overly damaged parts in an old rubbing. The outcome of such combination was, in Huang's words, a "collage of the new and the old."⁴¹ Huang mentioned several other rubbings of the same stele inscription, which he identified as the "old carvings" (*jiuke*).⁴² The so-called "old carvings" referred to rubbings taken from the Tang stele commissioned by Empress Wu in 703, not the stele itself. One such "old carving" was in the collection of Rong Zidao, a ritual specialist official and antique collector active in the late eleventh century.⁴³ As Huang testified, although the title of the stele, which suggested that Rong's rubbing was taken from the one erected by Empress Wu, appeared intact in the rubbing, many characters of the inscriptions were already illegible. Another

“old carving” Huang had examined was in the collection of Cai Xiang. Also taken from Empress Wu’s stele, Cai’s rubbing was probably taken at a time later than the one in Rong’s collection. As Huang had observed, Cai’s rubbing was even less legible than Rong’s, so it must have been taken when the stele was further damaged. Huang’s testimony suggests that during the late eleventh century, rubbings taken from the stele erected by Empress Wu were still available. These rubbings, referred to as “old carvings,” are identifiable by its unique title and the presence of illegible characters—a result of the damage inflicted on the surface of the stele.

Also available during the late eleventh century were rubbings taken from the stele erected by Wang in 962, to which Huang referred as the “new” rubbings. Characters in these “new” rubbings were clear and legible, which formed a stark contrast to the ones in the “old carvings.” The contrast in condition between the “old” and the “new” rubbings suggests that the radical deterioration of the Confucius Temple Stele that Ouyang had witnessed did not actually occur to any one stele but was represented by rubbings from stelae of different “generations” carved with the same inscriptional text. Ouyang apparently did not acquire any of the three stelae for his collection, since we know that the two old Tang stelae commissioned by Emperor Taizong and Empress Wu were destroyed long before Song times, and the third one had been standing in its original site since 962. Furthermore, Ouyang had probably never visited the Confucius Temple in Jingzhao, a city in the far west of Song territory, since he spent his entire career in the capital Bianjing (in today’s Kaifeng) and at various appointed posts around the capital and in the south.⁴⁴ Thus it is likely that he had never personally examined the surviving stele, which he claimed to be the first item in his collection. Ouyang’s lament for the ravages of time is true, albeit his sentiment ironically betrayed his misunderstanding of the chronological relationship between the two rubbings he examined. In fact, the rubbing inscription he saw in his youth, likely to have been taken from the third stele, was more recent—probably by two centuries—than the rubbing he acquired as an adult, the source of which was in all likelihood the Empress Wu’s stele of 703.

We must reconstruct the physical structure of this first item in Ouyang’s collection in order to comprehend this peculiar situation. In the letter to Cai quoted above, as well as in Ouyang’s colophon for the Confucius Temple Stele, Ouyang mentioned that the items in his collection were scrolls. A detailed description of these scrolls was offered by Zhou Bida (1126–1204),



1.7. Hypothetical reconstruction of a scroll in Ouyang Xiu's *Records of Collecting Antiquity*, consisting of a rubbing and a colophon. Author's reconstruction.

the chief editor of the first complete collection of Ouyang's works, published in 1196: "For each of the one thousand scrolls in *Records of Collecting Antiquity*, the stele inscription appears in the beginning of the scroll, followed by a colophon. The Master's name seal is applied at the juncture. On its exterior, the scroll is labeled with pale yellow paper, tied with light green ribbon. On the label it reads 'so-and-so stele, scroll number so-and-so,' all written by the Master himself. Even today there are still surviving examples."⁴⁵

This description is consistent with other testimonies about the scrolls in the possession of Ouyang's descendants.⁴⁶ As to the format in which the stele inscriptions were incorporated into the scrolls, Ouyang mentioned briefly in the preface to his collection: "Because transcriptions cannot truthfully represent these inscriptions, I employed rubbings taken from the stone carvings and have them mounted onto scrolls in order to safe-keep them."⁴⁷ Based on these statements, we can basically reconstruct the format of the first item in Ouyang's collection (figure 1.7). The rubbing in this reconstructed scroll is likely to be an "old" rubbing, which resembles the badly damaged first page from the *Linchuan Rubbing Album*; the colophon entry originally inscribed on the scroll may have resembled one of the surviving colophons in the National Palace Museum in Taipei.⁴⁸

Although the first item in his collection was a rubbing of the Confucius Temple Stele, not the actual stone stele, Ouyang made no distinction between the two media in his writing; he used the Chinese character *bei* to refer to both the stele and a rubbing taken from it. His ambiguous attitude

toward the physicality of what he collected is consistent throughout the collection. As we learn from the collection's inventory list compiled in 1069 by Ouyang Fei (1047–1113), Ouyang's youngest son, objects in Ouyang's collection include ritual bronze vessels of the Shang and Zhou periods (ca. 1500–200 BCE), stone carvings commissioned by the First Emperor of the Qin (221–206 BCE), funerary structures, tomb epitaphs, Confucian and Daoist temple steles of the Han (206 BCE–220 CE), model calligraphy taken from private letters, official memorials, Buddhist sutras, Buddhist pictorial stelae and Buddhist temple stelae of the Wei, Jin, and North-South Dynasties (220–589 CE), stelae for political propaganda and for commemorating public constructions, cliff carvings of poetry and prose, traveler's inscriptions, inscriptions on Buddhist pagodas of the Sui and Tang (581–906 CE), and Daoist classics of the Five Dynasties (907–960 CE).⁴⁹

All of these objects were "collected" through the mediation of rubbings.⁵⁰ Ouyang was not oblivious of the critical difference in physicality between a rubbing and its source object. On the contrary, he was keenly aware of the close relationship between a stone stelae and its rubbing, in which they mutually ensure each other's existence and the transmission of their inscriptional text, as demonstrated in the case of the Confucius Temple Stele.⁵¹ By collecting rubbings, instead of the objects themselves, Ouyang brought together items from various regions and historical periods, as demonstrated in the inventory list. The collection transcended geographical and temporal boundaries to present a comprehensive image of an ancient world delineated by inscriptions. This would have been prohibitively difficult and expensive to achieve, if he had collected the actual objects.⁵² By using rubbings as the medium for his collection, Ouyang was able to enjoy these items in the comfort of his own home, as he proudly pronounced the collection one of the six marvels in his house, which he could "joyfully handle" as he pleased.⁵³

PRESERVING AUTHENTICITY THROUGH FACSIMILIA

The intricate relationship between a stone stelae and its rubbing suggests a relationship between an original work and its "reproduction." Philosopher Walter Benjamin has warned us about the lack of authenticity in a reproduction: "Even the most perfect reproduction of a work of art is lacking in one element: its presence in time and space, its unique existence at the place where it happens to be. This unique existence of the work of art determined the history to which it was subject throughout the time of its existence. This

includes the changes which it may have suffered in physical condition over the years as well as the various changes in its ownership.”⁵⁴

The basic premise of this statement asserts that an object contains two types of fundamental traits—one type includes tangible physical features of the object and the other pertains to its space- and time-specific experiences, in other words, the “life” of the object. Benjamin’s statement suggests what a reproduction captures is the physical features of an object and that even a faithful physical facsimile of the original object could not replicate the life experience of the object. A rubbing in a Chinese antique collection, such as the one gathered by Ouyang, is often seen as a “reproduction” of a stone stele in that it represents the stele inscription. For this reason we should examine the qualities of a rubbing—that is, *how* and *what* it “reproduces.” In the process of making a rubbing, a piece of very thin paper is pounded onto a carved surface so that the paper is in precise contact with every raised and sunken part of the carving; after which ink is carefully applied to the paper so that the raised parts of the surface receive more ink and the sunken parts less or no ink (figure 1.8). The differentiation between the raised and sunken parts of a carved surface (that is, its design) is “translated” into ink patterns—the raised parts appear in ink, while the sunken parts appear in less or no ink.⁵⁵

The process points to an important fact: a rubbing is materially constituted of paper and ink, which reproduces the surface design of a carved object but not its physicality. A rubbing does not share a common material with the original object, whether that be stone, wood, or anything else. Neither does it possess the shape, form, and colors of its object. In other words, a rubbing does not *reproduce* an object, because it does not replicate any of the object’s physical features. Rather, it *translates* the surface designs of the object into ink patterns on paper. In the case of the Confucius Temple Stele, it was the stele’s inscription, not its formal features, that the rubbing captured and converted into ink patterns. Because of its meticulous process, rubbings taken from the Confucius Temple Stele registered not only the intended inscriptional content but also all the signs resulting from weathering, erosion, natural disasters, incidental damages, wars, repairs, or alterations. Any event that left traces on the surface of the stele throughout its unique history would have been documented in the rubbings. Contrary to the main problem raised by Benjamin, which concerns the lack of representation of the object’s “life” in a reproduction, a rubbing *can* record the history of a stele in the ink pattern.⁵⁶ A well-made rubbing can even register



1.8. Different stages of the rubbing process: On the right is a rubbing covering the carved surface but not yet inked. On the left is a partially inked rubbing. In the center is a rubbing already completely inked. Photograph by author.

effects caused by natural history, such as chemical changes or erosions, which commonly result in irregular patterns on the surface of the stone, or rings on a wooden plaque, which reflect annual growth rate and regional precipitation, or even the patina crusted on a bronze vessel, which comes from the interaction between bronze alloy and air.⁵⁷ A rubbing should not be treated as a reproduction of an object; it is indeed an alternative form of the object, but it records only selected elements of the carved surface, without the intention to replace the object physically. Nonetheless, a carefully made rubbing is comprehensive, for it tells the history of the object that has left traces on its surface.⁵⁸

In the colophon for the Confucius Temple Stele, Ouyang was very much aware of the unavoidable deterioration that a stone carving incurs over time. The process makes a stone carving an ever-changing object and thus complicates the mediation between a stone carving and its rubbing. A complicated case is found in the cliff inscription, the Great Tang Restoration Encomium (*Da Tang zhongxing song*), where the stone carving was represented by multiple competing alternatives (figure 1.9).⁵⁹ Regarding the complex relationship between the inscription and its rubbings, Ouyang gave his comments in a colophon:

To the right is the *Restoration Encomium*. There are many rubbings of the *Restoration Encomium*, [calligraphy] by Yan Zhenqing, circulating in the world. However, because the cliff rock has existed for many years, thus began to crumble and crack. Consequently, many characters of the inscription are illegible or missing. The rubbings people obtained in recent years have often been mended with ink by those who like to meddle with things. They disliked the crumbled and missing characters, thus filled them in with ink, which led to the loss of authenticity. My rubbing was acquired from the late Censorate-in-Chief in the Western Capital, Li Jianzhong, which is an old rubbing taken forty years ago. It is indeed the most authentic of all!⁶⁰

Although Ouyang's act of collecting was mediated through rubbings (and not directly with actual objects), the mediation was not unconditional. To him, the most important criterion of a mediating agent is its authenticity (*zhen*). As he mentioned, the kind of mistakes a literatus should avoid with great effort is the loss of authenticity (*shizhen*). One such occasion occurred after Ouyang had compared a stele inscription composed by Han Yu with the



1.9. Rubbing of the Great Tang Restoration Encomium, text by Yuan Jie (723–772) and calligraphy by Yan Zhenqing (709–785). Cliff carving dated 771. Rubbing date unknown. Ink on paper, h. 3.3 m. From Beijing tushuguan jinshizu, *Beijing tushuguan cang Zhongguo lidai shike tuopian huibian*, 27: 104.

old edition of Han’s works that Ouyang had acquired in childhood.⁶¹ He was glad to find that the text in the edition he owned was by and large identical to the stele inscription, unlike some editions circulating in the market, which deviated exceedingly from the inscription. Ouyang admonished his reader: “From this we learn that the loss of authenticity caused by the transmission of texts occurs ubiquitously. Therefore, whenever we collate an old book, deciding whether or not to make changes, we have to take extreme caution.”⁶²

The transmission of an old Chinese text (*chuanxie* or *zhuanxie*) often involved hand-copying and interpretation of the text. Therefore textual variorum exist as a result of human errors in copying or different opinions in

interpretation. The first step for any scholar studying a transmitted text was to collate the textual variora that appear among various editions in an attempt to restore the original text. In the process of collating a text, however, more subjective views or unintentional mistakes may be introduced and lead the collated text even further away from its original. Ouyang cautioned his reader to avoid this, and anxiety about deviation from the *original*—be it a work by an ancient writer, the meaning of a Confucian classic, or even an archaic writing style—underlined almost all of his intellectual inquiries.

To Ouyang, the portability and physical convenience of rubbings were not the main reasons why they are ideal agents for collecting inscriptions. Rather, it is primarily because of the authenticity they can preserve.⁶³ A rubbing's faithfulness to the carved surface from which it is taken is generated through its actual contact with the surface.⁶⁴ Ouyang noticed that a rubbing can preserve features of an object that are likely to be lost in the future. In the case of Empress Wu's Confucius Temple Stele, the rubbings, which were recognized as the "old carvings," preserved features of the stele even after the stele no longer existed. Commenting on the temporality of a rubbing, scholar Wu Hung argues that the imprint "attests to a single moment in the history of a stele—a particular condition of the stele that can never be repeated."⁶⁵ Like a photograph preserves a person's image of his or her younger days, a rubbing contains an earlier impression of the object and thus retains more of the original features than the current object does.⁶⁶ As time progresses, the object will go further down its unavoidable path toward more damage, alteration, or reworking; the rubbing, taken at one particular moment of the object's *life*, preserves features that the object no longer has. Thus a rubbing can tell us more about how the object used to be than the object itself can. In other words, a rubbing is always more faithful to the original condition of an object—that is, more *authentic*—than the object itself in its current state.

The comparative method can also be applied to rubbings taken at different times. A rubbing taken in an earlier moment in the history of an object is always more authentic than one taken later. To Ouyang, a rubbing taken forty years ago from the cliff inscription of the *Great Tang Restoration Encōmium* was better than those taken in recent years, because the former preserved earlier features of the inscription (thus being more authentic than the more recent ones). More recent rubbings, which had been mended and altered, were bound to contain mistakes, and further strayed from the original. The old rubbing taken from the cliff carving was, to Ouyang, *more*



1.10. Mural paintings from Song tombs in Baisha, Henan, showing calligraphy screens of different styles. Dated 1099 to the early twelfth century. From Su Bai, *Baisha Song mu*, plates 5 and 9.

authentic than the cliff carving itself. In another version of the colophon composed for this inscription, Ouyang mentioned that the inscription had become quite popular for interior decoration during the Song, and wealthy families would commission a rubbing of the inscription using yellow silk that would be made into a screen.⁶⁷

The popularity of such screens was part of a larger trend known since the Tang, in which calligraphic works were made into calligraphy screens (*shuping*) for aesthetic appreciation and as interior decoration. The common use of calligraphy screens during the Song was attested by tomb murals from a family cemetery found in Baisha, Henan, dated from 1099 to the early twelfth century (figure 1.10).⁶⁸ The popularity of the inscription aggravated the damage on the cliff surface, caused by excessive pounding and frequent application of moisture on the rock during the making of the rubbings. The old rubbing in Ouyang's possession, which predated the inscription's ill-fated popularity, preserved details that were no longer found in the cliff carving. It was therefore treasured by Ouyang as the "real version [zhenben] of the cliff rock."⁶⁹

ALTERNATE ORIGINALS

If we agree that authenticity of a rubbing is measured by its relationship to the original, can authenticity be determined when the original is in doubt? What did "original" mean to Ouyang when he considered a rubbing more authentic than its source? Because the concept of authenticity was often applied to historical study in Song antiquarianism, we need to examine Ouyang's view on the connection between ancient inscriptions and historical study to answer these questions. On multiple occasions he emphasized the critical role of ancient inscriptions in providing information that was absent from historical documents. Ouyang also underscored the importance of the fact that ancient inscriptions were not subject to textual corruption or alteration, which had plagued historical documents during the process of transmission. Ancient inscriptions had critical historiographical values, Ouyang argued, for they could supplement the transmitted historical documents and rectify their textual corruptions.⁷⁰ His confidence in ancient inscriptions' authority was expressed clearly in the colophon for *Great Dai's Restoration of the Mount Hua Temple Stele* (Da Dai xiu Huayuemiao bei): "The stele was carved at that time and thus should not be wrong. It can only be that the written history neglected to report the incident."⁷¹

To Ouyang, the fact that the inscription was produced temporally in situ makes it worthier in historical study than historical texts produced in later times. In other words, being contemporaneous with the historical event afforded the inscription historical authenticity, for it had preserved information directly from the source: the historical event itself. Although Ouyang considered the inscription historically authentic, it was the historical event signified by the inscription, not the inscription's physical presence, that he deemed the ultimate origin of historical authenticity. The separation of an object's historical significance from its physical presence allowed Ouyang to give priority to a well-made early ink rubbing over a badly eroded stele in its late stage. It also allowed him to challenge the monopoly of historical authenticity by one single ancient object when there existed competing alternates.

An ancient bronze vessel was brought to Ouyang's attention, which he referred to as the Hancheng Cauldron (figure 1.11).⁷² Based on its vessel type and décor, the vessel was datable to the Spring-Autumn period (early eighth to early fifth century BCE) of the Eastern Zhou (770–256 BCE). Chinese ritual bronze vessels, a unique type of religious paraphernalia, were used for ancestor worship as early as the thirteenth century BCE. By the Spring-Autumn period, bronze vessels had acquired an additional ritual significance: to bear inscriptions as testimonials to the virtues of historical figures and events. Typically, a highly ritualized text incorporating historical narratives and ceremonial prayers was cast on the inner surface of a bronze vessel for political and religious purposes. According to its inscription, the Hancheng Cauldron was commissioned by a consort with the clan name Jiang in the ruling family of Jin State for the celebration of certain state affairs.⁷³

Compared with stone inscriptions, the inscription on the Hancheng Cauldron was unique in technical aspects. First, the inscription was in excellent condition. It was brought to Ouyang soon after the bronze vessel was rediscovered from its underground burial of nearly eighteen hundred years. Even though the vessel had a long and remote prehistory before its rediscovery, it did not have a convoluted history of transmission like the Confucius Temple Stele, nor had it been subject to intense public abuse like the Great Tang Restoration Encomium. Except for some natural corrosion, the inscription on the vessel was found in its original state without any later intervention or damage. The inscription on the Hancheng Cauldron also foregrounded problems with comprehension. These problems were



1.11. Hancheng Cauldron (Jin Jiang Cauldron). From Lü Dalin's *Examining Antiquity Illustrated*, j. 1 (Yizhengtang edition, 1752).

not simply caused by damages to the inscription, but rather by the intrinsic features of its text. Although there was no need to examine alternative rubbings in order to find an authentic rendition of the textual content, the inscription was written in a kind of ancient language that seemed remote and unintelligible to most Song readers in its linguistic aspects, especially its orthography, lexicon, and syntax. The challenge for Ouyang was to analyze an inscription that was authentic but incomprehensible.

In the summer of 1062, Ouyang received a copy of the inscription on the Hancheng Cauldron from the prominent antiquary Liu Chang (1019–1068), a scholar of ancient rituals.⁷⁴ Liu was known for his collection of ancient ritual bronze vessels, acquired while he served as a commissioner in the Military Circuit of Yongxing (in today's Shaanxi). The circuit, extending across both sides of the Wei River, encompassed the sites of several ancient capitals

during the Zhou, Qin (221 BCE–206 BCE), and Western Han (206 BCE–9 CE). Liu's position as the chief officer in charge of the transport of troops and military supplies allowed him to travel throughout the region and acquire ancient objects directly from the sites. His study on ancient ritual vessels, titled *Pre-Qin Ancient Vessels Illustrated* (Xian Qin guqi tu, completed in 1063), recorded eleven vessels from his collection, including the Hancheng Cauldron, with line drawings and scholarly essays on various aspects of the vessels.⁷⁵

Curiously, there had been a copy of the same inscriptional text but apparently from another bronze vessel in 1059. The copy was in the form of a rubbing taken from a stone carving based on the inscription found in a bronze vessel also discovered in Hancheng. Ouyang had asked Yang Nanzhong (fl. mid- to late eleventh century), the director of the philology department at the Song Imperial University, to decipher the inscription. Yang was the chief editor of a catalogue of the antique collection during Emperor Renzong's reign (r. 1022–1063) and was responsible for transcribing the bronze inscriptions from their original archaic script into the contemporary standard script.⁷⁶ By the eleventh century, Shang-Zhou bronze inscriptions had become so rarely seen that few people were able to decipher them. Scholars, even those as erudite and well-read as Ouyang, were not able to read through a bronze inscription without difficulty. Ouyang confessed that whenever he got an ancient bronze inscription, he would rush to Yang for help.⁷⁷ Upon receiving Liu's inscription, Ouyang replied that he would "find someone who is erudite and capable of reading [bronze inscriptions] in order to understand the meaning of this inscription."⁷⁸ Ouyang must have gone to Yang for help, and the calligraphy professor replied with a letter that contained not only a transcription of the bronze inscription but also a substantial essay on related philological issues.⁷⁹

Within days of Yang's letter, Ouyang was overjoyed to receive another letter from Liu that contained a transcription of the inscription on the Hancheng Cauldron.⁸⁰ However, he faced a problem—Liu's reading of the inscription did not agree with the one by Yang. Liu's transcription contained many blanks, indicating the graphs he was unable to decipher.

惟王九月乙亥晉姜曰余惟司朕先姑君晉邦余不□安寧亟離明德宣□我猷用□
所辭辟□□□□□剗虔不□□□□□目寵我萬民嘉遭我□鬯賚千兩參灋文侯
□□□□□□維綏□□堅□□吉金用作寶尊鼎用康豐妥懷遠邦君子晉姜用
斬□□麋壽作惠□亟萬年無疆用享用德畯保其孫子三壽是利⁸¹

On the *yihai* day of the ninth month in the King's reign, [Consort] Jiang of Jin said: In managing my late parents-in-law's state of Jin, I do not . . . peace and stability, order and harmony, illuminating virtues and proclaimed. . . . I successfully employ . . . what is told to enforce order . . . , pacify rebels, and do not . . . with which I take good care of my ten thousand people. I am favorably given . . . fragrant liquor a thousand *liang*.⁸² I undeservedly follow the model of the Marquis Wen. . . . May thee grant us peace . . . perseverance. . . . Auspicious metal is used to make this precious and honorable cauldron. With . . . pacify and bring into the fold the lords of remote states. [Consort] Jiang of Jin prays for . . . longevity to practice kindness . . . extending for ten thousand years without end. May they be used to make sacrificial offerings and [to secure] virtue. May thee greatly ensure the descendants three longevities and rightful benefits.⁸³

Yang's reading of the inscription was also incomplete, but he did not leave any blank spaces in his transcription. Instead, he transcribed the graphs he could not decipher into graphs consisting of elements from standard script. He suggested hypothetical readings for those graphs whenever he could:

隹(惟)王九月乙亥晉姜曰余隹(惟)司(嗣)肺(朕)先姑君晉邦余不戇(政)安寧翌
(經)龔(雖)明德宣鄖(疑鄖,省隸作卽)我猷用鑿庀辟辟妣(疑母字)鬱久光劓
虔不彖(疑遂字,讀為墜)譖(諸)盥(覃)拿(享)自(師)暨我萬民嘉遭我沴(疑易
字)匱(疑幽胃二字)賚千兩勿灋文侯頤令是(疑卑字)聿(疑母字,讀為貫)通(通)
弘征彝(疑祫字)湯釁自(受)久吉金用卽(作)寶樽(樽)鼎用康匱(疑西夏二字)
攷(妥,讀為綏)襄遠冊君子晉姜用旛(疑旛字,讀為祈)鄰 蘭釁(疑釁字,讀為
眉)盍(壽)山(作)龜筮(為亟)極萬年無疆用菖(享)用德屹(疑允字)保與(其)孫
子三蒞是利⁸⁴

On the *yihai* day of the ninth month of the King's reign, [Consort] Jiang of Jin said: [Inheriting] my late parents-in-law's State of Jin, I [dare] not pursue frivolous comfort. I [cultivate harmony,] illuminate virtue, and propagate [compassion.] I successfully practice [graphs with unknown meaning], preach orders, [motherly] [graph with unknown meaning], persistently [graph with unknown meaning], pacify rebels courageously without [failure.] I [offer the troops plentiful fragrant liquor] and [graph with unknown meaning] my ten thousand people with favorable gifts. I [bestow stewed maw on you,] of which I grant one thousand *liang*. Do not take the order of Our Lord Marquis Wen [lightly.] [Execute] thoroughly

this magnificent conquest of [Fantang.] [graph with unknown meaning] [Having received] the long-lasting auspicious metal, I use it to [make] this [precious] *ding*-tripod. I exert myself for the welfare of [Xixia] and [carry good will] for the distant [graph with unknown meaning] lords. [Consort] Jiang of Jin uses [ceremonial banners] [composite graphs with unknown meaning] [longevity] and makes [graph with unknown meaning] [to the extreme.] For ten thousand years without end use it to make [offerings] and to [cultivate virtue.] May you [promise] to ensure [your] descendants three longevities and rightful benefit.⁸⁵

The two transcriptions offer very different interpretations of the ceremony documented in the inscription. Liu's transcription suggests that the event was a celebration of Consort Jiang's successful stewardship in administering the state of Jin. Although missing many graphs, the transcription indicates that through a sacred communion with previous rulers, likely her husband or father-in-law, Consort Jiang sought to legitimize and strengthen her role as a rightful, although unorthodox, female ruler of the powerful Jin State during the turbulent time of the Spring-Autumn period.⁸⁶ While Liu's reading alludes to a domestic political situation, Yang's transcription suggests a pending military conflict between Jin and Fantang in the south. The transcription indicates that the ceremony was a combination of a celebratory feast for the troops and a ritual pledging to the Jin State for the success of the military campaign. In addition, the transcription highlights two distinctive aspects of Consort Jiang as a ruler: she was both a strong military commander committed to the defeat of Jin's enemies and a skillful political leader who was sensitive to the geopolitics involving "Xixia" and "the distant lords."⁸⁷

Given these very different interpretations, it seems peculiar that Ouyang accepted both transcriptions as credible readings of the inscription on the Hancheng Cauldron. In his colophon for the inscription, he praised both Yang and Liu for their expertise on the ancient script.⁸⁸ Although he acknowledged discrepancies, Ouyang did not comment on them directly. Instead, he posted the two transcriptions side by side in his scroll and openly called for "erudite gentlemen" to resolve the differences. Evidently Ouyang's primary concern was not to make judgment on the two transcriptions but to maintain the integrity of the original text when two credible sources did not agree. His effort to accomplish this goal was made through the unorthodox way in which he incorporated the two sources in his collection.

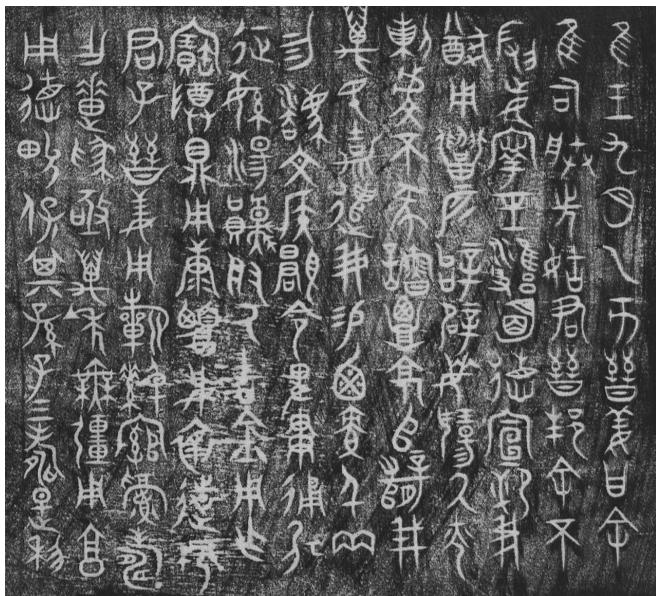
Although Ouyang's scroll of the Hancheng Cauldron has long been lost, features of the scroll can be found in Lü Dalin's *Examining Antiquity Illustrated*.⁸⁹ Based on the name of the object's owner acknowledged by Lü, we can be certain that the first image of the inscription in the entry for Jin Jiang Cauldron (the Hancheng Cauldron), represents the inscription from Liu's vessel (henceforth, the Vessel version, figure 1.12). The entry includes another image of the inscription, labeled as the *Jigu* version, indicating that the image came from Ouyang's collection (figure 1.13).⁹⁰ A comparison of these two images reveals that even though they share the same textual content, the images represent different inscriptional sources. As mentioned earlier, there was indeed another inscription of the same textual content: the 1059 inscription transcribed by Yang.⁹¹

A close look at the connections between the transcriptions and images further confirms that the inscriptional source represented in the Vessel version was the base for Liu's transcription and the one represented in the *Jigu* version for Yang's transcription. Two examples of graphic variation illustrate the connections (table 1.1). The eighty-sixth character in the inscription has a rather complex structure, made of two relatively equal-sized vertical components in the Vessel version, but appears in the *Jigu* version as one large vertical graph with a small graph attached to the upper left. Although he transcribed the character in the Vessel version in standard strokes based on its graphic structure, Liu was unclear about the proper reading of the character and offered no further interpretation. As to the character in the *Jigu* version, Yang recognized the internal elements as the ancient graph *xi* on the left and possibly the graph *xia* on the right, thus he transcribed the character accordingly and suggested reading the character as a composite word of *Xixia*, while citing a few other composite words as examples to support his reading. In another example, the ninety-second characters in both versions share the same upper structure, but the graph in the Vessel version is complete with two curvy lines, while the graph in the *Jigu* version ends with a foot radical. Based on their respective graphic structure, Liu read the character as *hui* (kindness), while Yang transcribed it based on its graphic structure without further interpretation.⁹²

The close tie between Yang's transcription and the *Jigu* version indicates that the inscription mounted on Ouyang's scroll for the Hancheng Cauldron must have come from the inscription that Yang had studied in 1059. This information allows us to reconstruct the scroll by following the structure suggested in Ouyang's own writing.⁹³ The scroll began with an image



1.12. The bronze vessel version of the inscription on the Hancheng Cauldron (Jin Jiang Cauldron). From Lü Dalin's *Examining Antiquity Illustrated*, j. 1 (Yizhengtang edition, 1752).



1.13. The *Jigu* version of the inscription on the Hancheng Cauldron (Jin Jiang Cauldron). From Lü Dalin's *Examining Antiquity Illustrated*, j. 1 (Yizhengtang edition, 1752).

TABLE 1.1. Comparison of the Vessel version and the *Jigu* version

| | 86 th character | 92 nd character |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| The Vessel version |  |  |
| | (transcribed by Liu in standard strokes without interpretation) | (transcribed by Liu as 惠) |
| The <i>Jigu</i> version |  |  |
| | (transcribed by Yang as 西夏) | (transcribed by Yang in standard strokes without interpretation) |

Details of figures 1.12, 1.13. These examples illustrate the distinctive features in the two versions of the Hancheng inscription, which lead to different readings of the inscription among Song antiquaries.

representing the inscription adopted from the vessel discovered in 1059, likely a rubbing given to Ouyang by Yang. It then continued with a short essay by Ouyang, in which he credited both Liu and Yang for their expertise in ancient script but noted the discrepancies in their transcriptions. The scroll continued with Liu's transcription, followed by Yang's and then his philological essay, written in 1062. All of these were likely to have been in their original manuscripts mounted on the scroll.⁹⁴

Although Ouyang included the transcriptions by both Yang and Liu in the scroll for the Hancheng Cauldron, he used only one image to represent the two different inscriptional sources and discussed them as if they were one. The ambiguous treatment of different inscriptional sources reflects Ouyang's notion of the original and his view about the fluid relationship between the original and alternates. For Ouyang, the quality of the original did not have to be monopolized by any particular physical item. It was possible for him to accept multiple sources as representing a single original in spite of their apparent differences. This view was stated explicitly in his colophon for *Zhangzhong Vessels* (*Zhangzhong qi*), a set of bronze vessels also in Liu's collection, that yielded four inscriptions of the same text (figure 1.14).⁹⁵

In the colophon Ouyang argued that even though the graphs varied among the inscriptions, all four should be seen as a single text, because the ancients often had graphic variation in their writing. He pointed out that the use of multiple inscriptions for one original text was foresighted on the part of the ancients, who intended to ensure the preservation of the original



1.14. Zhangzhong Vessel. From Lü Dalin's *Examining Antiquity Illustrated*, j. 3 (Yizhengtang edition, 1752).

text. The comprehensive interpretation of an ancient text could not be obtained from the precise reading of any particular version of the text, but it could be reached through a collective understanding of the ancient text's multiple inscriptional alternatives. This was possible only when the original text ceased to bond with any physical rendition or textual variant and became a *conceptualized urtext*, represented by multiple existing alternatives. In the case of the Hancheng Cauldron, the inscriptions from which Liu and Yang derived their transcriptions were both acknowledged by Ouyang as authentic alternatives to the original. In light of this understanding, the use of one image to represent both inscriptional sources should not be seen as an oversight in which the differences between the two inscriptional sources were ignored. Rather, it should be understood as Ouyang's attempt to present the conceptualized *urtext* by representing it with one of the authentic alternatives. Even though Ouyang foregrounded the fact that there were two inscriptional sources by including both Liu and Yang's transcriptions, the main subject of his discussion was nonetheless the original

text, not its alternatives. Because of the unique relationship between a conceptualized original and its physical alternatives, Ouyang was able to employ both inscriptional sources in his discussion as they collectively represented the original.

CONCLUSION

Ouyang Xiu's collection was by no means a conventional one consisting of objects in their original physical forms. Instead, it was a *conceptual* collection. This is not only because of the non-materialistic strategy in which Ouyang collected ink rubbings as an alternative medium, but also the ideological framework within which the entire collection was built. Because of its inclusive nature, an ink rubbing could convert the source object's surface content and life history into ink patterns without reproducing the object's physical form. The reduction of physical mass enabled Ouyang to build a collection of an enormous scale. The thousand scrolls in Ouyang's collection, indeed an impressive quantity covering a wide chronological and geographical range, amounted to what could be considered a comprehensive sampling of Chinese history up until the Song times. Even though many objects in the collection were damaged and their content was rarely intact, the perceived historical comprehensiveness nonetheless granted the collection the authority to represent the past. The antiquarian value of the collection did not hinge upon the individual identity of its objects, but on the association with antiquity that was conceptually shared by the rubbings in the collection.

In addition to the collection's comprehensive historical representation, Ouyang placed a strong emphasis on historical authenticity, which formed the conceptual premise of the collection. As the discussions of the Confucius Temple Stele and the Great Tang Restoration Encomium have demonstrated, the pursuit of authenticity was a guiding principle informing Ouyang's decisions about collecting. However, the pursuit was applied only to the textual inscriptions for a conceptually construed "original." Ouyang, and many other Song antiquaries, privileged the textual element in their collections over the physical and formal features.⁹⁶ The preference was a practice deep-rooted in Chinese historiography, in which the study of the past was by and large conducted through text.⁹⁷

The traditional prestige given to text was critically examined by Ouyang regarding corruption caused by textual transmission. As he repeatedly

pointed out, because of their contemporaneous connection to historical incidents and characters, ancient inscriptions were considered temporally *in situ*, immune to textual corruption caused by transmission, and thus deemed essential in the authentic reconstruction of history. That being said, Ouyang did not simply piece together ancient inscriptions in his pursuit of authentic history. As exemplified in the case of the Hancheng Cauldron, the understanding of a particular historical event would entail a comparative study of various evidence and interpretations, conceptually related despite their differences. In other words, the pursuit of historical authenticity in Ouyang's collection was more of an effort of conceptual construction than a process of material reconstruction. The conceptual pursuit of authenticity was effectively facilitated by the use of ink rubbings, which produced non-material renditions of the historical content and faithfully preserved evidence from multiple perspectives as history evolved.

DEVELOPMENT OF SONG ANTIQUARIAN WRITINGS

THE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE INTEREST IN ANTIQUITY DURING THE Northern Song period is best represented in a large body of texts known as antiquarian writings, which were devoted to documenting and interpreting artifacts from the past. Song antiquaries used these texts to record the formal characteristics and visual features of ancient objects, to compile results of observations and studies of them, and most importantly, to create open forums for scholars to express opinions, exchange ideas, and debate about ancient objects and issues related to antiquity. For these reasons, the format of Song antiquarian writings often included visual and textual components to present objects in multiple ways. As expressive tools in the discourse about antiquity, many antiquarian writings were composed with specific agendas. Antiquaries who intended to reconstruct a verifiable narrative of the past with material evidence, rather than relying on textual traditions, focused their comments on the discrepancies between historical documents and the inscriptions found on ancient objects. Those who were concerned with the proper practice of rituals categorized ancient objects according to their ritual functions. They also paid close attention to the formal details of an object in order to understand any embedded ritual symbolism. Antiquaries interested in the calligraphic or philological nature of inscriptions found on objects represented these inscriptions in their writing.

In addition to being a forum for expressing views and interests, antiquarian writings preserved and circulated knowledge of antiquity. The expansion in Song times of printing technology such as the production of high-quality paper and ink, along with the use of professional inscribers and carving studios, had set the stage for an advanced printing industry to

serve the consumers in the vast market for printed goods in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries involving both official agencies and private publishers.¹ Interest in antiquity, especially among literati, encouraged the publication of the antiquarian writings and their circulation throughout society.² Antiquaries were thereby able to disseminate their studies as well as their beliefs regarding antiquity through this market to a broad audience beyond their immediate circle of friends, colleagues, and acquaintances. As a result, knowledge of antiquity became available even to those who did not have direct access to ancient objects. For the first time in Chinese history, one did not have to own a large collection of ancient objects in order to acquire knowledge about them.

A MILLENNIUM OF SCHOLARSHIP OF SONG ANTIQUARIAN WRITINGS

The first bibliographic study of Song antiquarian writings, *History of Ancient Script* (*Zhou shi*), documented the richness of writings produced during the height of the movement, although it also attested to a great loss. Dated to the mid-twelfth century, *History of Ancient Script* was attributed to paleographer Zhai Qinian (active early to late twelfth century), a court scholar under Emperor Gaozong (r. 1127–1162), who ascended the throne during the devastating invasion of northern China in 1126 and 1127 by the Jurchen Jin dynasty (1115–1234). The invasion resulted in Song's loss of its northern territory.³ *History of Ancient Script* describes thirty-four Song antiquarian writings, including illustrated catalogues of imperial and private collections of ancient objects, philological studies of ancient inscriptions, and anthologies of ancient inscriptions from stone stelae, bronze vessels, cliff carvings, and archaic inscriptions used in court ritual vessels.⁴

Entries often began with questions about figures, objects, or events that contextualized the writings in the Song antiquarian movement. This was followed by discussion of specific aspects of the writings, frequently with commentaries on text analysis and references to ritual canons. Finally, assessments of the writings' contributions to the understanding of antiquity, or Zhai's own reflections on issues raised in the texts, were provided.⁵ Indicated in the table of contents, these works were listed in an upper and a lower section, where titles of imperial compilations were listed first, followed by inscriptions of the Shang, Zhou, Qin, and Han periods; after this, Song titles were arranged in possible chronological groups.⁶ Among the thirty-four titles listed in *History of Ancient Script*, only five are still extant, among which

only one survived in its original print.⁷ Even *History of Ancient Script* itself suffered loss—the lower section was entirely lost by the mid-seventeenth century.⁸ The situation is indicative of the severity of loss that Song antiquarian writings have suffered, with many works surviving only in titles or in fragments restored from later sources.⁹ Despite the great loss of Song antiquarian writings, recent studies reconstructed fragments and successfully recovered some of the texts.¹⁰

Following the precedent established in *History of Ancient Script*, many modern studies of Song antiquarian writings took the format of an annotated bibliography, in which a selected group of works is evaluated in individual entries, rather than in an integrated discussion. The most representative of these is Rong Geng's essay "Descriptions and Evaluations of Song Writings on Ritual Bronzes" (*Song dai jijin shuji shuping*).¹¹ For each selected text, Rong gave a general description of the work and the history of its transmission, with a focus on the previous scholars' comments. Rong's study is invaluable for its concise and insightful reviews of individual texts, including those that were no longer extant, paving the way for later studies on Song antiquarian writings.¹² However, its lack of concern for the historical context of Song antiquarianism, which treated the texts as isolated examples that exhibited little connection with one another, is problematic. Several contextual studies of Song antiquarianism have suggested strong ties among these texts, especially pertaining to the exchange of ideas on antiquity and the treatment of ancient objects.¹³

Another group of modern studies on Song antiquarian writings consist of textual studies on Song works reissued in later times. These later editions are especially important for our understanding of Song antiquarian writings, because the majority of extant Song works exist only in the form of later editions. Although later editions preserve the content of the originals, textual corruption or changes introduced during the process of reissuing pose serious problems concerning the authenticity of these works. The Song antiquarian writing that has been through the most stringent textual study is Lü Dalin's (1040–1093) *Examining Antiquity Illustrated* (*Kaogu tu*), which included more than two hundred pieces of ancient objects selected from more than three dozen private and courtly collections.¹⁴ Extant editions of the catalogue, dated from the mid-fourteenth to the late eighteenth century, were meticulously analyzed for their relationship to one another and to the Song original. The result of this painstaking effort is a credible reconstruction of the changes of the catalogue in later times. This reconstruction

helps differentiate the elements preserved from the Song original from those introduced later.

The third group of modern studies concerns the roles of these writings in the Song antiquarian movement. An important pioneer work in this group was “Antiquarianism in the Song Dynasty” by Wang Guowei (1877–1927).¹⁵ Wang argues that antiquarian writings serve a dual function by systematically documenting ancient objects while at the same time providing analytical interpretation. His approach, which viewed these writings as an enterprise that aimed collectively at a better understanding of antiquity, was adopted by many later studies on Song antiquarianism. The view that Song antiquaries were a collaborative group that worked within the same set of parameters and for a common goal became a predominant position in modern studies on the subject. This view is well represented in Xia Chaoxiong’s “The Rise of Song Antiquarianism and Its Major Contributions.”¹⁶ Xia gives a concise yet overall account of the movement by stitching together individual Song antiquaries and their writings, addressing them collectively as “Song ren” (“people of the Song”). Although it helps to produce a swift assessment of Song antiquarianism, this approach—assuming a homogeneous perception of antiquity among Song antiquaries—is problematic, for it ignores their different intellectual agendas and social positions.

RITUAL REFORMS AND THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF SONG ANTIQUARIAN WRITING

The format and practice of state rituals had been a point of contention since the beginning of the Song dynasty.¹⁷ Song rulers and court officials tried hard to make sense of the convoluted statements in the Confucian classics on rites in order to resolve issues regarding how state rituals (such as the Suburban Sacrifices to Heaven) should be conducted, and what ritual paraphernalia to use.¹⁸ Ritual music was particularly problematic, for there was little consensus in the Song court on the details of ritual music or its instruments, especially bells.¹⁹ As an essential element in state sacrifices, ritual music was traditionally seen as a critical vehicle for the conducting of rulership. It was believed that a ruler would govern his people with his virtue resonated through music. The fate of the state as a whole would be prognosticated through music as well. Ritual music performed inadequately or with improper instruments would therefore doom the fate of the state and even bring physical harms to the ruler.²⁰ The ritual music that the founding

emperor Taizu (r. 960–976) used for his new regime was adopted from the court of Latter Zhou (951–960), the last of the five short-lived ruling houses in the first half of the tenth century. When Taizu usurped the throne of Latter Zhou in 960, he took over its ritual system, including the instruments for ritual music, which the Song court continued to use with only minor modifications.²¹

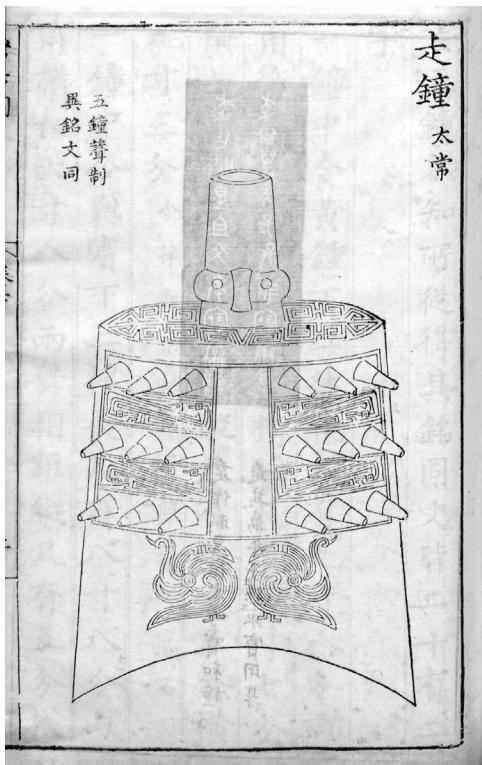
Among the inherited instruments for ritual music was a set of bells devised by the well-respected Confucian scholar Wang Po (d. 959) of Latter Zhou. Although the bells saved Emperor Taizu many headaches during the haste of setting up the state ritual system for his new court, they bore a fundamental flaw. The tones were so high that the music generated from them connoted a sense of sorrow, deemed an ill omen for the Song state.²² Understanding the severity of the problem, the reform-minded Emperor Renzong (r. 1022–1063) began his reign with a quest for ancient ritual music.²³ The emperor also authorized the casting of modified bronze bells based on the research of ritual texts done by court specialists. However, the results of the reform was inconclusive. A similar reform was attempted under Emperor Shenzong (r. 1068–1085) but ended with an unsatisfactory compromise between Taizu's inherited music and Renzong's reformed instruments.²⁴ Ritual music continued to be at the center of the debate during the reign of Emperor Zhezong (r. 1086–1100), when ritual specialist Fan Zhen (1007–1088) presented his updated musical system with a comprehensive treatise and a complete set of new instruments.²⁵ The system, however, was rejected by other court officials, for it disregarded the results from the previous reforms and was soon abolished.

Among the many reform attempts in the eleventh century, those carried out under Emperor Renzong played a critical role in the early development of Song antiquarian writing. A general structure for such writings began to formulate under Renzong's auspices. When the emperor first exercised his political power after a decade of regency under Empress Dowager Liu (r. 1022–1033), he launched two rigorous programs to revive ritual music as it had been practiced in ancient times.²⁶ It was believed that through careful textual analyses and complicated mathematical deductions, one could identify and restore the tones used in the ancient music, thereby achieving the perfect cosmological order and harmony between heaven and the human world. The pursuit an ideal state through ritual music spurred the production of copious treatises on musical theories and instruments, including one composed by the emperor himself.²⁷ Several Huangzhong bells were made

to test musical pitches for the reform. Four sets of standard musical pitches were eventually calibrated and two sets of ritual bells and stone chimes were produced based on them. In addition to the bells and chimes, an unprecedented string orchestra was established using newly devised instruments to perform contemporary ritual music. A set of drums was also created to play novel drumming routines. All these were overseen by the Institute for Deliberating Grand Music (*Xiangding dayueso*), a court office established in 1050 specifically for the reform.²⁸

During the period of reform, a number of ancient bells were discovered in Qianning near the northern border and Liuyang in the deep south.²⁹ Although these ancient bells were discovered in remote regions, they were immediately presented to the court and sent to the new music office for inspection. Along with the specimens already in the imperial collection, they served as examples for the making of the reformed bells. A set of five bells in graded sizes, known as Zou Bells (*Zou zhong*), were particularly important (figure 2.1).³⁰ Court officials, including Ouyang Xiu, observed the physical features of these bells and noticed that the body was in fact not round but flattened on the sides. The bells were meant to be hung at an angle when played.³¹ When Renzong's chief reform commissioners, Li Zhao (active early to mid-eleventh century) and Hu Yuan (993–1059), failed to replicate these physical features in the new bells, they were heavily criticized by other court officials for their mistakes.³²

The criticism attested to an important development around the mid-eleventh century, whereby the focus on textual analyses of ancient rites was gradually outweighed by direct observations of surviving artifacts. Before this, ancient bronzes were valued primarily for their inscriptions; bronzes that did not bear inscriptions were regularly melted down as raw material for casting new bronzes, as suggested by one instance in 1017.³³ The change in focus from textual to material features of ancient objects was well demonstrated with the set of Zou Bells, which were rediscovered in 1035 as they were destined to be melted down for the casting of new bells during Renzong's first reform attempt. Because of the inscriptions on the bells, which were spotted just in time in the furnace room, these ancient bells were instead rescued and rushed to the Court of Grand Sacrifices for inspection.³⁴ However, interest in their inscriptions later gave way to the attention paid to their physicality. Careful observations were made about their shape, the way they were played, and the sound they produced.



2.1. Zou Bell. From Lü Dalin's *Examining Antiquity Illustrated*, j. 7 (Yizhengtang edition, 1752).

During Renzong's second reform an unprecedented exhibition of ancient objects was held in 1053, in which Shang-Zhou ritual bronzes in the court collection were inspected in public. Two years before the exhibition the emperor had ordered the transfer of ancient objects in the Imperial Archives and the Court of Grand Sacrifices to the Institute for Deliberating Grand Music in preparation for the making of reformed ritual instruments.³⁵ After much deliberation a set of twelve ritual bells was cast in early 1053 for the new ritual music, the *Music of Great Peace* (*Da'an zhiyue*). This title revealed the underpinning ideal for the reform: to strengthen Song rule with a heavily mandate to restore peace and stability after a string of wars, uprisings, and natural disasters that had plagued the dynasty.³⁶ Later that year, Renzong invited his high officials to attend the premiere concert of the *Music of Great Peace*, which showcased the newly cast instruments.

Following the concert, the emperor summoned the officials to inspect the ancient ritual bronzes in the court collection, which presumably had been

used as models for the reform of ritual music. After the inspection he ordered ink rubbings of the inscriptions on these ancient bronzes to be made, and bestowed them as gifts to the officials in attendance. These ink rubbings were unprecedented. Although the technique of ink rubbing had been used for stone stelae at least since the early Tang, before this event there was no record regarding the application of ink rubbing techniques to an ancient bronze vessel. The techniques must have been so little known that ancient bronze inscriptions from private collections generally had to be carved onto a stone stele before ink rubbings could be made for circulation.³⁷ The ink rubbings Renzong gave to his court officials were unusual and even peculiar, because the majority of the officials were unable to read the inscriptions that were written in an ancient script commonly used approximately a millennium before Song times. Except for a few erudite scholars, such as the philologist Yang Nanzhong (active in the mid-eleventh century), the imperial gifts were incomprehensible to most of their recipients, despite their extensive learning in history and literature. These unusual gifts seem to have been inspired by a common belief in the Song court that ancient rulers would bestow on meritorious court officials ritual bronzes that had been inscribed with a text commemorating the ruler's ceremonial gift. This belief was based on a historical incident that took place in the first century BCE, in which the discovery of an ancient vessel triggered a discussion within the court of the ceremonial function of ancient bronzes.³⁸

An important detail pertained to the hierarchical yet harmonious relationship between an ancient ruler and his court officials that was facilitated through the exchange of bronze. When an official dutifully executed his ruler's command, he would be rewarded with an inscribed bronze by which the record of his merit was proudly incorporated into his family history through the presence of the ritual bronze in his family temple and through the documentation in the bronze inscription. By awarding his court officials with ink rubbings of ancient bronze inscriptions, Renzong was making an unmistakable reference to the ceremonial act of bestowal practiced in ancient times. These gifts should be understood as political symbols that illustrated the emperor's ambition to emulate an ancient ruler by replicating the hierarchical order between a ruler and his subordinate officials. The use of the rubbing technique to generate physical impressions of the bronze inscriptions, rather than hand-copying the inscriptions, was necessary to validate the symbolic meaning. The technique—pressing paper firmly onto the surface of an ancient bronze—provided a material connection between

Renzong's gifts and the ancient practice of bronze casting as rewards. The ink rubbings thus enabled Renzong to claim authority over his officials in a way similar to how the ancient rulers did. The ability of the officials to decipher the inscriptional texts was, however, not central to the symbolism of the practice.

The significance of Renzong's symbolic gesture was acknowledged by the Song officials from a different perspective. In the first century BCE it was a court official, named Zhang Chang, who, based on his reading of the bronze inscription, interpreted the proper ceremonial function of the bronze vessel in question for the Han emperor Xuandi (r. 73–49 BCE). A debate broke out among court officials regarding whether it was appropriate to place the newly discovered ancient vessel in the imperial ancestral temple. Opposing the popular opinion that suggested the ancient vessel should be presented in the temple as an auspicious object, Zhang Chang argued that it should not be placed in the temple because it had been cast by descendants of a Zhou court official for their family temple, not by the Zhou royal family for the imperial ancestral temple.³⁹

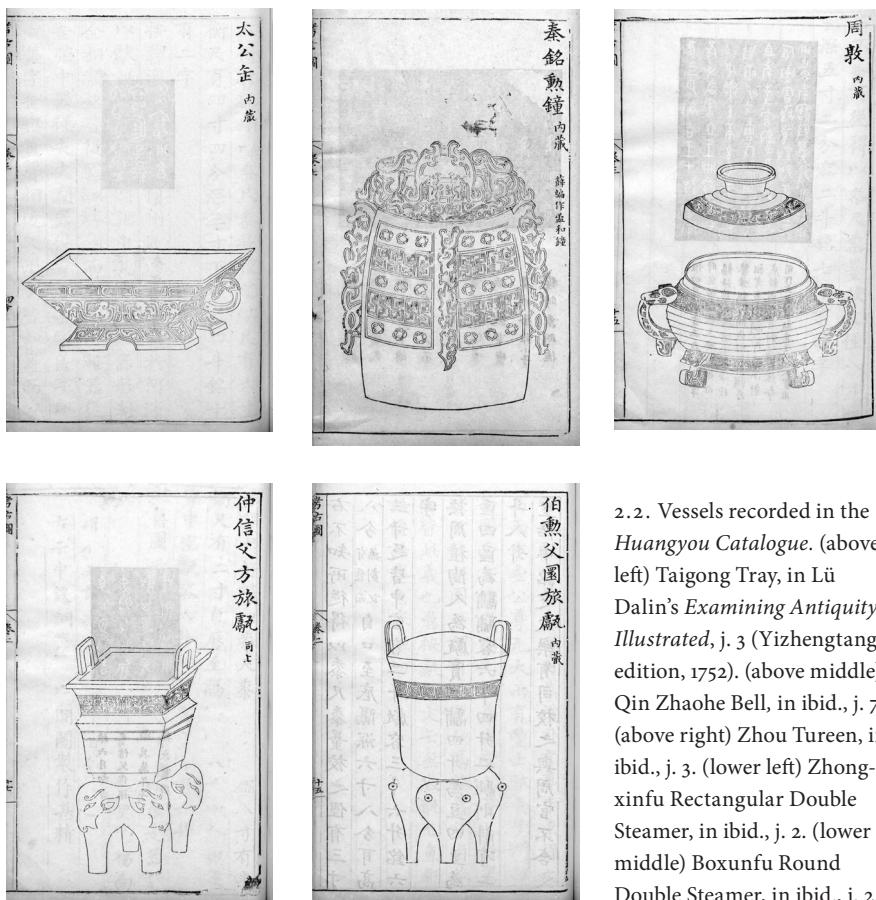
Zhang's interpretation eventually helped the previously misinformed emperor to make the appropriate decision regarding use of the ancient bronze vessel. The ability to read bronze inscriptions was critical in defining Zhang's role in the hierarchical relationship with the emperor. Zhang proved to be a worthy adviser with essential knowledge about antiquity, whereas the Song officials, in comparison to their predecessor of a thousand years ago, seemed embarrassingly inadequate as court advisers for their inability to read the ancient script. The ability to read ancient bronze inscriptions was considered instrumental in understanding ancient rituals. Unlike the canonical texts on ancient rites, which were often overly generalized and thus confusing, ancient bronze inscriptions in this case recorded actual occurrences of rituals with specific context and details.

The bronze inscriptions represented in Renzong's rubbings must have provoked great curiosity among the Song officials about their ritual content during a time when the reform of state rituals was being carried out in full force. Yang Nanzhong, director of the Philology Department at the Imperial University, who was a well-known calligrapher of seal script, was called upon to transcribe the inscriptions from ten ancient objects in the imperial collection.⁴⁰ The content of the inscriptions would thus be accessible for those who were unable to read ancient script.⁴¹ In addition to the transcriptions, these ancient objects were represented in drawings, which included

details of forms and decorative motifs, as indicated in the description given in Yang's preface.⁴² The result of Yang's effort was the earliest Chinese antiquarian texts with drawings, titled *Illustrated Catalogue of Ancient Vessels from the Three Halls in the Huangyou Era* (*Huangyou Sanguan guqi tu*, henceforth the *Huangyou Catalogue*).⁴³ Although no copy survives, the contents of the catalogue was summarized in Zhai's *History of Ancient Script*, which indicates that Yang's catalogue consisted of drawings and transcriptions (in clerical script) of a diverse group of ancient ritual vessels, including one rectangular tureen, one spouted wine-pitcher, one bell, one round tureen, two steamers of different shapes, one set of four bells, and one cauldron with three legs.⁴⁴ The images and inscriptions of several of these objects can still be seen in Lü Dalin's *Examining Antiquity Illustrated* (figure 2.2).⁴⁵

In the preface to the *Huangyou Catalogue*, Yang expressed his distrust of transmitted historical texts—a sentiment also shared by Ouyang Xiu: “It has been almost one thousand years now since the Han dynasty. Those that have been handed down [through this period] are replete with errors such that one can no longer know their true condition. Although those that have not been through transmission are still in good condition, they are, however, incomprehensible. I now transcribe them all in clerical script to await those who are erudite with regard to antiquity.”⁴⁶ Yang pointed out a dilemma that Song scholars often faced when dealing with ancient inscriptions: although ancient inscriptions preserved underground could escape corruption caused by transmission, they were unintelligible to most viewers, except for a few erudite specialists. Yang's solution to this problem was to convert the incomprehensible ancient script into clerical script, a common calligraphic style used in official or ritual texts. The juxtaposition of an obscure, ancient script with a commonly used contemporary script in order to bridge the gap between the past and the present was not a novel practice in the Song. As early as the mid-third century, the *Zhengshi Stone Classics* (241 CE), also known as the *Tri-script Stone Classics*, already placed the ancient script of the pre-Qin era side by side with more contemporary small-seal and clerical scripts. These scripts represent different stages in the history of Chinese writing from the third century BCE to the third century CE, thus collectively symbolizing a cultural authority that continued from late Eastern Zhou to the Han-Wei period.⁴⁷

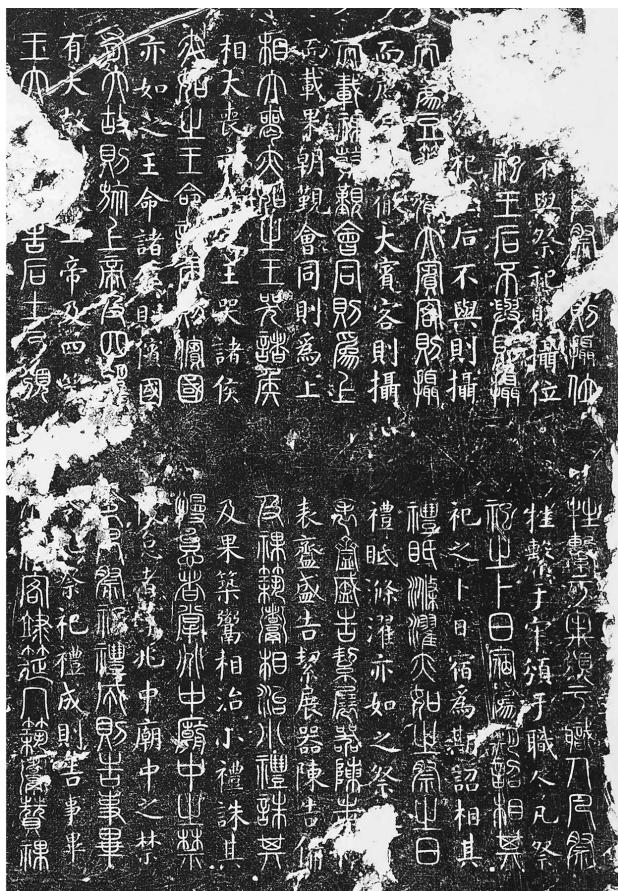
When Yang was compiling the *Huangyou Catalogue*, he was also involved in a large carving project, known as the *Jiayou Stone Classics* (1041–1061).⁴⁸ With his expertise in philology and seal script, he oversaw the production



2.2. Vessels recorded in the *Huangyou Catalogue*. (above left) Taigong Tray, in Lü Dalin's *Examining Antiquity Illustrated*, j. 3 (Yizhengtang edition, 1752). (above middle) Qin Zhaohe Bell, in *ibid.*, j. 7. (above right) Zhou Tureen, in *ibid.*, j. 3. (lower left) Zhongxinfu Rectangular Double Steamer, in *ibid.*, j. 2. (lower middle) Boxunfu Round Double Steamer, in *ibid.*, j. 2.

of the stone classics and was largely responsible for the writing of seal script in the production.⁴⁹ This massive imperial commission comprised nine titles of Confucian canonical texts, each written in the contrasting seal script and standard script, which represented the ancient and contemporary cultural attainment (figure 2.3). There should be no doubt that this Song project continued the political symbolism that had begun its development with the *Zhengshi Stone Classics* in the third century and was seen as an endorsement for the Song's cultural identity and ruling mandate.⁵⁰

Although the *Jiayou Stone Classics* and the *Huangyou Catalogue* shared common features, especially in the juxtaposition of ancient and contemporary scripts, the two productions were fundamentally different in their implications. While the stone classics generated an official edition of the classics



2.3. Calligraphy by Yang Nanzhong, *Jiayou Stone Classics* (1041–1061). Ink rubbing of fragment 1982 found in Chenliu, Henan. Henan Museum, Zhengzhou.

that was intended to standardize the Song learning of Confucian canons, the bronze catalogue put forth Yang's own interpretation of the ancient inscriptions to initiate discussions among scholars who were also interested in the ancient texts. A vibrant discourse on Shang-Zhou bronze inscriptions flourished in the following years. An early development can be seen in Ou- yang Xiu's study of the Hancheng Cauldron (Jin Jiang Cauldron) discussed in chapter 1, which included two very different readings of the same ancient inscription by Yang and Liu Chang (1019–1068).⁵¹ The discourse must have been further stimulated with the circulation of Yang's catalogue and similar works by other Song antiquaries, such as the *Illustrations of Zhou's Mirrors*

(*Zhou jian tu*) by Li Gonglin (mid-eleventh century to 1106) and *Illustrated Catalogue of Ancient Vessels from the Pre-Qin Periods* (*Xian Qin guqi tu*, henceforth the *Pre-Qin Catalogue*) by Liu, which were carved in stone, so rubbings could be easily made and circulated.⁵² Some of these stone carvings were displayed publicly for the convenience of circulation.⁵³

ILLUSTRATED CATALOGUES

The *Huangyou Catalogue* anticipated a series of illustrated catalogues produced in the following three decades, one of which was Liu Chang's *Pre-Qin Catalogue*, dated to 1063. Renowned for his erudition in Confucian classics, Liu was credited for his influence on a new intellectual approach that fundamentally challenged the conventional view of the classics mediated through the Han and Tang commentaries and advocated personal interpretations through a direct reading of the canonical texts.⁵⁴ In addition to his influence in Song study of Confucian classics, Liu was an innovative antiquary renowned for his unprecedented collection of ancient artifacts, mostly Shang-Zhou ritual bronzes, which he acquired from the northwest region of the Song territory in early 1060s.⁵⁵ Although there were accidental discoveries of Shang-Zhou ritual bronzes in early Chinese history, no considerable private collection had been documented prior to the Song.⁵⁶

Trained in Confucian classics and ritual texts, Liu became interested in ancient ritual artifacts during the time when ancient inscriptions drew heightened attention from scholar-officials around the Song court in response to Renzong's second ritual reform in the 1050s, especially the exhibition of Shang-Zhou ritual bronzes in 1053. At that time Liu was a deputy scholar in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies, thus he must have attended the exhibition.⁵⁷ In 1060 he left the capital for a post in Yongxing Military Prefecture (in today's Shaanxi), an area that encompassed most of the Wei River valley and included the capitals of the Western Zhou, Qin, Western Han, and Tang dynasties, as well as many royal cemeteries and mausoleums. As the military superintendent, Liu traveled throughout the prefecture and thus had the opportunities to acquire Shang-Zhou bronze vessels at opened tombs or exposed caches where these objects were unearthed.⁵⁸ When he was summoned back to the capital in the fall of 1063, his collection of ancient objects already amounted to many dozens.⁵⁹

Shortly before returning to the capital, Liu compiled the *Pre-Qin Catalogue*, in which eleven vessels from his collection were represented in both

images and texts.⁶⁰ Although no copy of the catalogue survives, we can reconstruct the general format and contents based on Liu's own description in *On Ancient Vessels from the Pre-Qin Period*.⁶¹

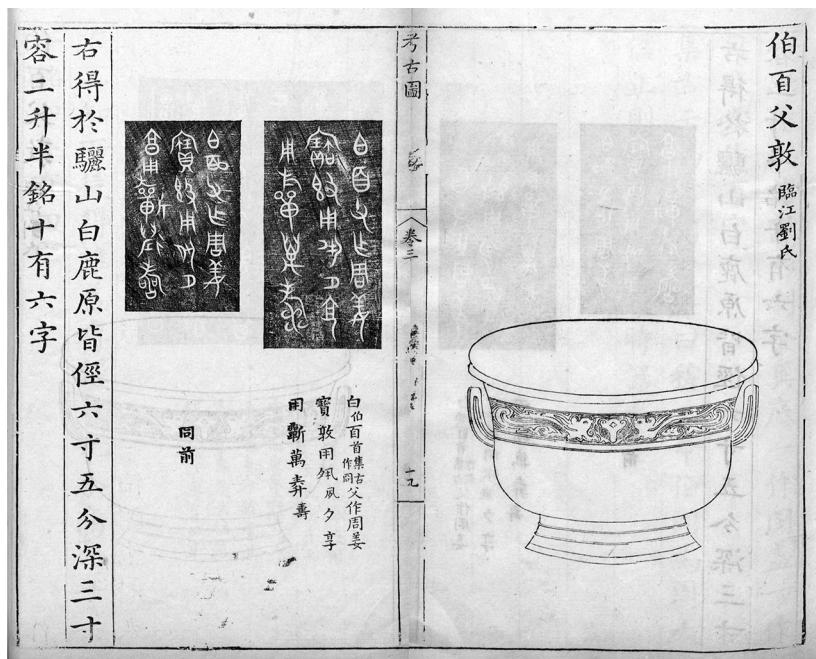
The eleven ancient vessels from the Pre-Qin Period are intricately made.⁶² They bear inscriptions which are all in seal script. The inscriptions are so archaic that scholars are unable to completely comprehend. [In the effort of reading the inscriptions,] I consulted other books, but only got [the meaning of] five or six out of every ten graphs. Based on what can be understood, I verified their era and concluded that some of the vessels came from the times of King Wen and Wu of Zhou, which have been more than two thousand years! . . . I had artisans copy their inscriptions, carve them in stone, and also draw their images, with which I am awaiting erudite and refined gentlemen who are fond of antiquity.

According to the statement, the format of Liu's *Pre-Qin Catalogue* was quite similar to that of the *Huangyou Catalogue*—both consisted of drawings and inscriptions of vessels from the Shang-Zhou period. Like its predecessor, the *Pre-Qin Catalogue* was also carved in stone, presumably for easy duplication and circulation through ink rubbing, the trusted method for enduring and authentic transmission. The circulation of the *Pre-Qin Catalogue* must have been quite considerable, as surviving rubbings of it were still seen in the early nineteenth century.⁶³

The *Pre-Qin Catalogue* contained more than just drawings and inscriptions, however. Short essays about objects from Liu's collection, which must have been written originally for the catalogue, were preserved in his literary anthology, *Collected Writings by Master Gongshi* (henceforth *Gongshi's Writings*) as well as in other Song antiquarian writings.⁶⁴ One such essay was for a pair of bronze vessels, which Liu titled *Bojiong Tureens* (*Bojiong dui*) (figure 2.4).⁶⁵

To the right are two *dui*-tureens, which I obtained from Lantian.⁶⁶

Tureens were a type of ritual vessels used by Youyu. *Zhou Rites* mentioned that tureens were made of bronze and jade. A jade tureen was to hold blood, with which the Son of Heaven would receive the pledge of allegiance from the arch-lords of various states. A bronze tureen was to hold millet, with which grandes and ladies would make offerings at the ancestor temple.



2.4. Bojongfu Tureen. From Lü Dalin's *Examining Antiquity Illustrated*, j. 3 (Yizhengtang edition, 1752).

The tureens here are made of bronze. The inscription reads: “Master Bojong commissioned for Jiang of Zhou this precious tureen. May it be used for making offerings day and night, and for praying for longevity of ten thousand years.”⁶⁷ Bojong was likely to be King Mu’s Chamberlain of the Royal Stable.⁶⁸ Those arch-lords within the Zhou royal domain who were enfeoffed in the Zhou estate were all descendants of the royal family. In that case, Bojong must be its distant offspring.

The vessels in question are a pair of bronze tureens that Liu believed to have been commissioned by a high official named Bojong from the Western Zhou period. As the phrase in the beginning of the essay “To the right . . .” suggested, the essay must have been positioned after the drawing and inscription of the vessels, which were arranged horizontally from right to left. This horizontal arrangement indicates that the *Pre-Qin Catalogue* was formatted like a handscroll, a format commonly used for inscriptional ink rubbings during the Song times.⁶⁹ Even though we do not know whether it

was based on typology, chronology, or other criteria by which the eleven objects were arranged in the catalogue, we can be fairly certain that the handscroll-style structure began with Liu's preface for the catalogue and followed by individual entries, each consisting of a drawing of the vessel, a tracing of its inscription, and an essay about its historical and ritual significance. Liu's own texts suggest that each of the entries concluded with a rhymed eulogy (*zan*).⁷⁰ All of the sections were carved on multiple slabs of stone in order to produce rubbings for circulation. The reconstruction of the *Pre-Qin Catalogue* was further confirmed by the description of the surviving rubbings in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁷¹

The analysis of the Bojiong essay not only helps us to reconstruct the *Pre-Qin Catalogue* but also offers insights into Liu's antiquarian study. In the essay Liu points out the typological category of *dui*-tureens in the early canonical source, *Notes of Rituals* (*Liji*), explaining that they were used by the legendary sage-ruler, Shun of Youyu.⁷² According to the classics, Shun was one of the divine sovereigns in the remote and mythical times.⁷³ Chosen for his virtuous and filial nature, Shun received the political mandate from his predecessor Yao and passed it on to Yu, the founder of the Xia dynasty, who was also selected to be a ruler on account of his virtues.⁷⁴ Because Xia was the first period of the Three Dynasties (*Sandai*), which was traditionally recognized in the Song as the beginning of historical antiquity, Shun's passing on the political mandate to Yu suggested a critical juncture in early China when ancient ideals transitioned into historical practices. By pointing out the vessels' association with the mythical sage-ruler Shun, Liu was able to imbue these rather unknown historical artifacts with ideological values rooted directly in the remote antiquity.

As to how the vessels' physical features were related to their ritual significance, Liu turned to *Zhou Rites* (*Zhouli*) for explanations. Despite the lack of a clear source before its sudden appearance in the second century BCE, this controversial classical text, originally known as *Zhou Offices* (*Zhouguan*), was nonetheless seen as a genuine representation of the Zhou governmental institutions and used as a constitutional model by Wang Mang (46 BCE–23 CE) for his Xin dynasty (8–23 CE) that briefly interrupted the Han mandate.⁷⁵ Wang and his supporters, most notably the classical scholar Liu Xin (46 BCE–23 CE), claimed that the text was composed by the sagacious Duke of Zhou (r. as regent 1042–1036 BCE), who "intended to evince the grand peace achieved under the Zhou governance."⁷⁶ The attribution had been espoused by subsequent orthodox scholars, such as Ma

Rong (79–166), Zheng Xuan (127–200) of the Eastern Han, and Jia Gongyan (fl. mid-seventh century) of the Tang.⁷⁷ The orthodox views of *Zhou Rites* continued into the mid–Northern Song period, when scholarship of ancient classics began to shift away from the philological studies established in traditional commentaries, in favor of a new exegetical approach to the classics through holistic and empirical readings for metaphysical interpretations of the texts and their institutional applications to actual sociopolitical problems.⁷⁸

As a pioneer scholar in this fresh development of Song classical studies, Liu contributed with his *Short Comments on Seven Classics* (*Qi jing xiaozhuan*) in which he engaged with the classical texts directly and offered intuitive readings of passages from seven ancient texts, including *Zhou Rites*. It was in this context that Liu juxtaposed ancient objects with classical texts in the attempt to find meaning in the ritual objects.⁷⁹ According to the *Heaven Office* (*Tianguan*) chapter of *Zhou Rites*, tureens made of (or decorated with) jade were used during the official ceremony when the Zhou King and various arch-lords came together for a demonstration of loyalty and solidarity. A jade tureen would be used to hold the sacrificial blood that ritualistically demonstrated the allegiance between the Zhou ruler and his political allies. For the worships of one's ancestors, a bronze tureen would be used to hold grains as offerings.⁸⁰

The reference to the ritual canons provided a historical and ritual context for the understanding of the Bojiong Tureens, especially regarding their functions and the interpretation of the inscription. In the last portion of his essay, Liu deciphered the name in the inscription in a specific way that allowed him to identify the person who commissioned these objects as Bojiong, an official under King Mu of the Western Zhou (r. tenth century BCE). The identification historicized the vessels by associating them with a particular time in the Zhou history. It transformed the objects from an anonymous discovery to material evidence that attests to the authenticity of specific historical events and personalities. Liu's essay for the tureens, which discussed their ritual practices, interpreted their inscription, and identified related historical personalities, corresponded to the objectives of antiquarian studies laid out in his preface for the catalogue—to examine the form and function of ancient objects in order to understand ancient rituals, to understand ancient script in order to correctly interpret bronze inscriptions, and to verify historical events and personalities using evidence from ancient objects.⁸¹ In Liu's view, ancient objects provided ways to study

ancient rites, philology, and history—all of which were vital subjects in Song literati training.

Liu's catalogue must have contributed to the spread of interest in ancient objects and consequently led to the increase of private collections. There was indeed a rapid growth of collections of ancient artifacts among Song literati during the second half of the eleventh century.⁸² The most impressive collections were assembled by Li Gonglin, the accomplished painter and antiquarian, and included Shang-Zhou ritual bronzes, jade ornaments, chariot fittings, and household items.⁸³ Like the antiquaries before him, Li publicized his collections through writing. *History of Ancient Script* recorded two titles by Li: one is the *Illustrated Catalogue for Examining Antiquity* (*Kaogu tu*), which curiously had the same title as the catalogue by Lü, and the other is the *Illustrations of Zhou's Mirrors* (*Zhou jian tu*).⁸⁴ Although neither book survived, recent studies have recovered some of the content by combing through contemporaneous texts that had discussed objects from Li's collections or adopted passages from his writing.⁸⁵ Lü's catalogue, for example, listed twenty-eight items from Li's collections and quoted at length from Li's catalogue of the same title, which had been widely circulated among Song collectors and antiquaries.⁸⁶

It was not coincidental that the two books shared the same title. In terms of format, a description from the mid-twelfth century, which offered insights on the layout of Li's catalogue, revealed a structural parallel between the two books. Like in Lü's catalogue, every object in Li's catalogue was represented with a drawing, which was very likely to have been done by the collector-artist himself, as Li was known for his *biaomiao* line-drawing techniques.⁸⁷ An image of the inscription, if present, would also be included. The drawing would be followed by an essay that discussed the form and decoration of the object, the inscription, the philological origin of the ancient graphs, and the possible historical function of the object. Both catalogues included a preface that laid out the authors' antiquarian visions, and praise was placed at the end of Li's book to conclude the various aspects of the collection.⁸⁸ Many modern scholars believe that Li's catalogue served not only as a major source of content but also as a structural base for Lü's catalogue of the same title.⁸⁹

Li's *Illustrations of Zhou's Mirrors* (compiled in 1091) contained inscriptions from fifteen ancient objects that he dated to the Xia and Shang periods.⁹⁰ His postscript reveals an anxiety before the making of the book for not having sufficient findings from these earliest periods of history in his

antiquarian endeavor.⁹¹ The essay in the first entry for an inscribed dagger blade, which Li dated to Xia, explicated his belief in the significance of this piece in association with Yu the Great, the legendary founder of the Xia dynasty, who was also believed to have initiated the making of ritual bronzes and inscriptions. Even though Li was unable to decipher the characters in the inscription, he nonetheless related the imaginative forms embedded in the graphs to early mysticism regarding the origin of Chinese writing.⁹² For historical remains from such a remote antiquity, Li felt a strong sense of obligation to preserve them and propagate knowledge about them. As expressed in the postscript, he was able to “trace (or reconstruct) the Xia-Shang ideals through these ritual objects. Those who were fortunate to have seen [them] should reciprocate by making them broadly visible and widely transmitted.”⁹³ With this conviction, Li had the inscriptions carved and displayed for public view.

A third work by Li, titled *Illustrations of Ancient Objects* (Guqi tu), was apparently a handscroll with *biaomiao* drawings and brief texts, according to Wang Mingqing (active mid- to late twelfth century), an erudite historian and book collector from the Southern Song, who had seen the handscroll himself.⁹⁴ Wang praised the drawings for their vibrant visual features that represented the intricate details of the forms and decorations of the ancient vessels. Unlike Li’s *Illustrated Catalogue for Examining Antiquity*, which gave a full descriptive and analytical account of objects in Li’s collection, and different from *Illustrations of Zhou’s Mirrors*, which focused primarily on the inscriptions of the objects that Li believed to have come from the Xia and Shang dynasties, this handscroll highlighted the visual aspects of selected ritual vessels, presumably of the Shang-Zhou period, from his collection. In addition to the various emphases in content, these three works displayed an interesting range of format with which Li’s antiquarian scholarship was carried out. While his *Illustrated Catalogue for Examining Antiquity* was circulated among other Song antiquaries as a book, and *Illustrations of Zhou’s Mirrors* in the form of ink rubbings, the handscroll of *Illustrations of Ancient Objects* was likely to have been passed among connoisseurs and collectors similar to the way in which Li’s other artworks were treated. The diverse content and format of Li’s scholarship clearly demonstrated the innovative approach he pioneered in the field of Song antiquarianism. The scope of Li’s scholarship was not limited to his own collection but expanded to other sources, as exemplified in the entry for the Ding Fu li Tripod.⁹⁵

Here Li adopted a comparative view to examine the object's vessel type, which was characterized by bulb-like legs connected in their internal cavity, and similar examples from other sources. Li's discussion of objects from private collections other than his own suggests that his catalogue was likely composed in the late 1080s during his tenure in the capital, where many private collectors gathered.⁹⁶ More important, Li's collaboration with other collectors indicates the formulation of a scholarly discourse on ancient objects that attracted broad participation by the late eleventh century. This scholarly circle centering on Li and his antiquarian friends would eventually coalesce into the broader antiquarian forum that led to the production of Lü's *Examining Antiquity Illustrated* and the court-commissioned *Illustrated Catalogue of Erudite Antiquity Revised in the Xuanhe Era* in the following decades.

Li's role as an antiquary is significant in several different aspects. Most important, his methodology of naming and identifying ancient objects, in which traditional texts were relied on as the major source for terminology and interpretations, constituted the foundation of Song nomenclature of ancient objects. A prominent example of this is the naming of the prominent zoomorphic motif *taotie*. In his discussion of the Geng and Gui cauldrons, Li identified the zoomorphic motif in their decoration with a passage from *The Annals of Master Lü* (*Lü shi Chunqiu*, completed 239 BCE), which described the term *taotie* as a decorative motif found on Zhou cauldrons that had only a head but not a body. Li referred to another passage from *Master Zuo's Commentary* (*Zuo zhuan*, compiled before 389 BCE), when giving his interpretation of the motif's symbolic meaning.⁹⁷ Because of Li's interpretation, the term *taotie* from these early texts became a standard name for the motif in Chinese antiquarian writings. It is still used today in Chinese archaeology, together with the descriptive term "animal face" (*shoumian*), to refer to the zoomorphic motif commonly seen on Shang-Zhou ritual bronze vessels (figure 2.5), even though Li's moral view of the motif, that it was a warning against gluttony, is seriously questioned in modern scholarship.⁹⁸

Unlike previous Song antiquaries, who with their primary focus on inscriptions largely overlooked the physical properties of ancient objects, Li's intense interest in physical form sheds much light on the proper understanding of these objects' typological features. For example, in identifying the object type of the aforementioned Ding Fu li Tripod, Li turned to *Towards Correctness* (*Erya*, ca. third century BCE), the earliest glossary of



2.5. Taotie Cauldron. From Lü Dalin's *Examining Antiquity Illustrated*, j. 1 (Yizhengtang edition, 1752).

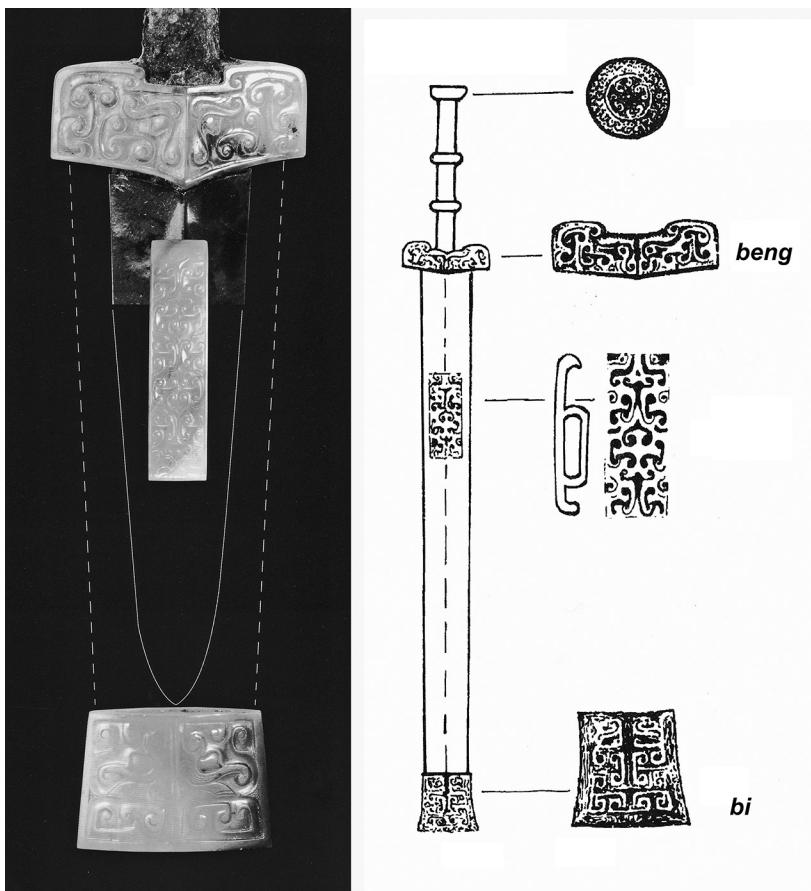
things found in the human and natural worlds, traditionally attributed to Confucius himself or his disciples.⁹⁹ A passage was found in *Towards Correctness* that named this type of cauldron with wide hollow legs *li*.¹⁰⁰ In the context of this definition, Li compared the Di Fu li Cauldron in his collection with three other vessels of similar typological features and pointed out that these vessels were almost identical in the way in which their three hollow legs formed a connected circular space.¹⁰¹

Through the comparison of formal similarities among these vessels, Li successfully established the characteristic features of *li*-cauldrons as a typological category in the study of ancient objects. Li's discussion was especially meaningful in verifying the proper name for this type of object. While there was a specific definition in the traditional scripture regarding how a *li*-cauldron should look, the actual recognition of the vessel type was far from clear. There were at least five different vessel types, ranging from what are categorized today as *ding*-cauldrons to *you*-pitchers, but all labeled as *li*-cauldrons in Lü's supposedly authoritative catalogue. By paying attention

to the actual formal features of the objects, and connecting them with scriptural and inscriptional sources, Li provided an indisputable formal definition for this typological category of *li*-cauldrons, which was well supported by evidence from ancient texts on nomenclature and by the vessels' own inscriptions, as demonstrated in one of the vessels analyzed in his discussion, which actually named itself as a *li*-cauldron in its own inscription.¹⁰²

Li also collected and studied ancient objects for their secular functions and thus broadened the scope of Song antiquarian studies from rituals to material culture. A discussion of two pieces of jade in his collection illustrates this interest in objects outside of the context of ancestral worship and state ritual. Citing verses from *The Book of Odes* (*Shijing*, compiled eleventh to seventh century BCE), Li identified the jade pieces as *beng* and *bi*, which were ornaments decorating the opening and the end of a scabbard for a sword, as seen in excavated examples from a recent archaeological discovery (figure 2.6, left).¹⁰³ Li must have associated these jade pieces in his collection with old paintings, such as *The Benevolent and Wise from the Exemplary Women* (*Lienü renzhi tu*) by Gu Kaizhi (ca. 366–406), which depicted noble men carrying swords fitted with jade ornaments.¹⁰⁴ In support of his identification, Li pointed to a sword in the painting that was fitted with similar jade ornaments.¹⁰⁵ Inspired by the ancient work, Li offered his version of how the jade ornaments were used in the past (figure 2.6, right). Unlike the ancient bronze objects discussed earlier, the two pieces of jade were not inscribed with ritual texts, nor was it apparent that they were produced specifically for a ritual ceremony. Instead, they represented an aspect of luxury goods produced for the elite. Through Li's interpretations, adopted from a classical text and a didactic painting by an early master, the study of ancient luxury goods became associated with ancient classics and moral paradigms from the past, both of which were essential in Song studies of antiquity.

Li was also known for his appropriation of the ritual significance of ancient objects. Unlike his predecessors, such as Liu Chang, who treated ancient objects primarily as sources of information in their intellectual pursuit of a sacred past, Li explored different ways to employ ancient objects in expressing his thoughts. An example is found in Li's *Painting of Mountain Villa* (*Shanzhuang tu*), an idealized pictorial rendition of Li's retreat in the Longmian Mountains, located in today's Anhui.¹⁰⁶ In a section of the painting that depicts the Precious Blossom Rock (*Baohua yan*), a cauldron is in use as a cooking vessel. According to a quatrain written for this scene by Su Che (1039–1112), the vessel depicted was a Shang dynasty ritual bronze.



2.6. Use of jade: (left) *Beng* and *bi* jade ornament for a sword from Han tomb no. 102, Yaozhuang, Yangzhou, Jiangsu. In Gu Fang, ed., *Zhongguo chutu yuqi quanji*, 7: 86. (right) Drawing of an ancient sword with jade fittings. After Luo and Luo, *Guwenwu chengwei tudian*, 332.

Circle after circle forms the Precious Blossom Rock.
Layers upon layers are the sheltering treasurable trees.
Returning home, you have obtained a cauldron of the Shang,
With which you cook the greens growing by the creek.

Scholars have successfully reconstructed the historical context of Li's painting and concluded that the work was produced during the late 1080s, when Li served at the imperial court in the capital Bianjing (in today's Kaifeng, Henan).¹⁰⁷ The conclusion indicates that Li made the painting while he

was far away from his retreat in the Longmian Mountains, a place he had always considered his true home. The phrase “returning home” in the third verse of Su’s quatrain—an unmistakable reference to the celebrated rhapsody *Returning Home* by the legendary recluse-poet Tao Qian (365–427), who preferred an eremitic life over a petty career in officialdom—was thus significant, suggesting Li’s frustration with the official obligations at court and his longing for returning to his reclusive home.¹⁰⁸ Li himself had also used Tao Qian’s *Returning Home* as a main motif to express the ideal of eremitism in another painting, produced perhaps only a few months before he painted *Mountain Villa*.¹⁰⁹

The meaning of the phrase “returning home” suggests that the scene of the Precious Blossom Rock was an anticipation of life in the mountains upon his return, rather than a pictorial rendition of Li’s life in the Longmian Mountains before he left for the capital. It is therefore reasonable to read the “Shang cauldron” in Su Che’s quatrain as a reference to Li’s antique collection, which he would have brought back with him when he finally left the capital for his retirement home in mountains.¹¹⁰ The reference could be even more specific, considering the similarity in shape and décor between the cauldron depicted in the alleged best surviving copy of *Painting of Mountain Villa* (now in Beijing), which has successfully preserved Li’s original composition and brushwork, and the extant illustration of the Gui Cauldron, a prized ancient vessel from the Shang period that Li acquired during his tenure in the capital (figure 2.7).¹¹¹ Both images depict a vessel with a rounded body supported by three legs and a two-tier decoration with a narrow band of zoomorphic motifs positioned on top of a circle of parallel triangular motifs decorating the middle to lower range of the body. The similarity seems to suggest that Li had the Gui Cauldron in mind when he painted the scene in *Painting of Mountain Villa*.

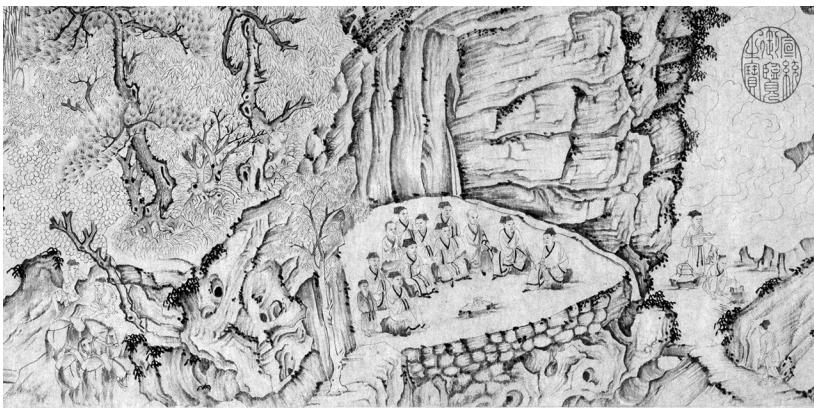
Li’s painting and Su Che’s poem may seem sacrilegious at first—an ancient vessel originally used in the sacred ritual of ancestor worship was desecrated in the Song as a mundane cooking pot. There is no evidence to show whether Li indeed used the Gui Cauldron or any other ancient vessels in his collection for cooking or other mundane functions. Perhaps the painted scene was only a lighthearted fantasy on the part of the artist-collector. Nonetheless, such a depiction represents an attitude toward antiquity fundamentally different from that articulated by Liu Chang in his *Pre-Qin Catalogue*. Ancient objects were perceived by Liu as materials for his intellectual pursuit, through which sacred antiquity could be correctly



2.7. (left) After Li Gonglin (mid-eleventh century to 1106). Detail from *Painting of Mountain Villa*, showing use of an ancient cauldron for cooking. Ink on paper, h. 29 cm. Palace Museum, Beijing. (right) Gui Cauldron. From Lü Dalin's *Examining Antiquity Illustrated*, j. 1 (Yizhengtang edition, 1752).

understood and reconstructed. Liu's approach, which would become orthodox in Song literati circles through the spread of major antiquarian writings, such as Lü Dalin's *Examining Antiquity Illustrated* and Zhao Mingcheng's *Records of Metal and Stone* (*Jinshi lu*), required one to see ancient objects as mediums for a holistic understanding of antiquity which necessarily remained separate from the mundane presence. A well-known example of this austere approach is seen in the postscript for Zhao's book, written by his wife, the talented but ill-fated poetess Li Qingzhao (1084–after 1155), who was left with the burden of caring for Zhao's collection after his death while fleeing from the Jurchen invasion. In this memoir Li adoringly praised Zhao for his commitment to the pursuit of antiquity but also subtly protested how the strict separation between the sacred past and the mundane presence had resulted in pain and regrets.¹¹²

Measured against the stringent order set out by Liu and Zhao in their pursuit of antiquity, was Li Gonglin an iconoclast in his view of antiquity? If we look at Li's writing preserved in Lü's catalogue, we find Li a traditionalist who followed the orthodox model established by his predecessors to investigate



2.8. After Li Gonglin (mid-eleventh century to 1106). Detail from *Painting of Mountain Villa*, showing a group view of an ancient object. Ink on paper, h. 29 cm. Palace Museum, Beijing.

the historical, philological, and ritual significance of ancient vessels. The practice of engaging with ancient objects intellectually was portrayed in a lively scene of the *Painting of Mountain Villa*, in which a group of scholars attend a seminar with an ancient object positioned in the center as its main subject (figure 2.8).¹¹³ The seminar is led by an expert sitting to the right, perhaps Li himself, who gazes at the ancient object intently as if contemplating on a complex issue about it. The outdoor seminar depicted in the painting is filled with energy emitted not only from the rigorous intellectual engagement of the participants, but more importantly from the vigorous natural surrounding represented by the towering boulders and verdant vegetation. Li deliberately combined the human activities and the natural world, and he welcomed the possibility of incorporating antiquity into daily life. His intention to break the boundaries is subtly displayed in a scene parallel to the outdoor seminar, in which three busy servants prepare food and drink for the scholars' enjoyment after the seminar. In this mundane act we see an ancient ritual vessel depicted as being used for cooking. The use of an ancient vessel for everyday food preparation was not entirely dissimilar to the way in which it had been used in ancient times as a vessel to prepare for a sacred communion with one's ancestors. By depicting the mundane use of an ancient vessel, Li appropriated the inherited ritual significance of the vessel to signify the ideal way of life in his reclusion. The seemingly sacrilegious depiction of ancient objects in the painting should therefore be

perceived as the opposite of iconoclasm, for it honors, rather than denigrates, the ancient vessel as a sacred ritual symbol.

CONCLUSION

By the end of the eleventh century, an age of antiquarianism had begun in the Song. While the court sought models for proper state rituals in ancient vessels, Song literati considered knowledge about ancient objects essential to their scholarly training. Many considered ancient objects a medium for experiencing an ideal way of life, so collecting artifacts had become a common practice for both the state and private individuals. Because of the high value collectors were willing to pay for antique objects, a network of antique markets arose in places where collectors concentrated, such as the capital.¹¹⁴ Collectors no longer had to travel to the original sites to seek out ancient objects. Instead, objects were brought to the markets to wait for a buyer or were even offered directly to a collector.¹¹⁵ Catalogues of antique collections had become a genre with established conventions in format and content. In addition, antiquarian writings had become a common forum for the advancement of knowledge. Group viewing of antique objects, as seen in the event in 1053, would become more common in private settings, as suggested by interactions between private collectors such as Li Gonglin and his friends.¹¹⁶

The interest in ancient ritual objects led to several important publications, including the seminal work *Examining Antiquity Illustrated* by Lü Dalin, which represented a collaborative effort among literati who shared a common interest in antiquity and ancient objects.¹¹⁷ Following the precedent set in the Li catalogue, Lü Dalin's catalogue provided a line drawing for each object to represent its form and décor as well as an essay to analyze its historical context and ritual function.¹¹⁸ Although illustrations had been used in ritual manuals as early as the eighth century, the images in Song antiquarian texts, such as the catalogues by Li and Lü, were drawn from actual objects, unlike the images in traditional ritual manuals, such as *Illustrated Manual of Three Rites* (*Sanli tu*), which were essentially visualizations of ambiguous textual descriptions found in the commentaries of ritual canons. In addition to the line drawings, Lü Dalin carefully recorded the dimensions of each object as well as its provenance and date, when the information was available. As scholars have pointed out, such unprecedented interest in the physical properties and contextual information helped

establish two critical developments in the antiquarian movement.¹¹⁹ The first was the nomenclature of ancient objects. By inspecting formal features of individual objects and comparing multiple examples of similar types and décor, antiquaries established a classification system based on objective examination of actual objects. In addition, they cross-examined textual sources, especially the inscriptions found on the objects themselves and historical documents on ritual paraphernalia, to look for terms used in the past for these objects. The terminology that resulted from this effort was not just a classified naming system, but was, more fundamentally, a reconstructed nomenclature from the perspective of the ancients.

The second development was the historicization of ancient objects. Unlike the predominant view prior to the mid-eleventh century of ancient objects as omens with abstract implications for sociopolitical matters, the Song antiquaries considered these artifacts to be relics from which they could extract information about the past. This necessitated the periodization and the recording of provenance of the objects, for the original time and location of an object formed the historical context for any information it could provide. Ancient objects were also used for historical inquiries. Aspects such as formal features, inscriptions, and the site of excavation informed discussions regarding such issues as ancient calendric system, ritual naming, writing, and even the periodization of the object itself. Lü Dalin's *Examining Antiquity Illustrated* not only put forth the paradigm for studying ancient objects but also underscored a fundamental change in the Chinese conception of the past, from text-based to object-based. The concern for historicity reflects a common anxiety among Song intellectuals regarding a perennial problem in transmitted historical narratives and canonical texts—the introduction of biases and mistakes.¹²⁰

The inscriptional texts found on ancient objects provide an alternative source to transmitted texts and thus make possible a cross-examination between contemporary textual traditions and ancient material. Even though the texts from ancient objects are often too brief or stylized to provide meaningful comparisons with received texts, Song antiquaries, such as Ouyang Xiu and Zhao Mingcheng, held fast to the belief that there once existed in antiquity a truthful and uncorrupt cultural origin, of which the received traditions in later times are merely lesser and deviated versions.

In addition to the humanistic and historical approaches to antiquity, there is an interest in the anthropological dimension of antiquity expressed especially in the mundane objects collected by Li Gonglin. This approach

indicates a perception of ancient artifacts fundamentally different from that articulated by Liu Chang. In his introduction to the *Pre-Qin Catalogue*, Liu listed three goals for his fellow antiquaries: increasing one's understanding of ancient rituals by examining the form, décor, and function of an ancient artifact; enhancing one's ability to comprehend ancient script by analyzing the philological features in an inscription; and rectifying the transmitted history, such as the succession of ancient political rulers, by cross-examining it against an inscription. In Liu's perception, ancient artifacts provide authentic materials for the study of rites, philology, and history, all of which were subjects vital to literati training. In other words, one had to conduct antiquarian studies to complete one's training as a literatus. Li's utilitarian approach to ancient artifacts emphasized the psychological experience with the objects. His passages preserved in Lü's catalogue show that Li indeed followed Liu's advice to pursue antiquity for intellectual purposes.

However, Li also incorporated antiquity in his daily existence by treating the ancient objects the way they were treated by the ancients. If Liu perceived antiquity as the authentic source for knowledge about an ideal human world, for Li it was an ideal way of life. His desire to *live* like an ancient was demonstrated in the final event of his life: he brought a piece of ancient jade to his grave. The placement of jade in tombs has been confirmed by modern archaeology and also was documented in detail in Confucian classics on rites, from which Song literati must have learned about the practice. Li was a rare individual to have actually practiced it.

ARCHAISTIC OBJECTS AND SONG MATERIAL CULTURE

THROUGH THE MASSIVE ACCUMULATION OF MATERIALS FROM THE past and a vigorous endeavor to comprehend and systematize this large body of ancient objects, the quest for antiquity generated a wide range of cultural production in the latter part of the Song dynasty. Interest in antiquity and ancient objects spread beyond the high elites to minor officials and local gentry with the circulation of antiquarian writings and the spread of literati taste. Even though nonelites seldom had access to actual objects from China's high antiquity, knowledge about and interest in them became a fundamental element of cultural identity. As a result, new cultural practices prompted by that knowledge and interest—and by the desire to demonstrate them publicly—were implemented in various segments of Song society.

On the state level, the court eagerly redesigned all its ritual paraphernalia on the model of ancient objects in order to put into practice newly reformed state rituals that were also based on ancient ideals. On a private level, changes in family rites and burial practices informed by ideology related to antiquity were implemented to demonstrate newly acquired cultural identity and taste influenced by antiquarian principles and aestheticism. These cultural practices not only provided ways for people at various social levels to demonstrate their interest in and knowledge of antiquity, but also generated a tremendous amount of archaic objects, known as *fanggu qi*, literally meaning “objects imitating antiquity.” These archaic objects often displayed formal features appropriated from or inspired by ancient prototypes combined with motifs from contemporary contexts.¹ They eventually acquired a collective status, similar to their ancient prototypes, as cultural insignia for certain social groups. Compounded by their often very high

market value, these objects and the significance attached to them eventually led to the redefinition of boundaries between Song cultural elites and aspiring commoners.

Produced during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and displaying formal kinship with ancient objects central to the Song antiquarian movement in the earlier period, these archaic objects resulted from formal appropriation of ritual bronze vessels and commemorative stone carvings, both of which were primary categories of ancient objects collected and examined by Song antiquarians. The antiquarian movement had reached a critical point in the late eleventh and early twelfth century. Major antiquarian writings—such as Ouyang Xiu's *Colophons from the Records of Collecting Antiquity* (*Jigu lu bawei*) and Lü Dalin's *Examining Antiquity Illustrated* (*Kaogu tu*)—were published and circulated widely among Song antiquaries. Collecting ancient ritual bronzes or ink rubbings of ancient stone carvings became a common practice among literati. The enthusiasm for ancient objects demonstrated by Emperor Huizong (r. 1101–1125) further intensified the antiquarian interest throughout society. It is therefore not coincidental that the earliest examples of Song archaic objects appeared during this period. In the emperor's reform of state rituals, which produced impressive archaic ritual vessels (most notably the Dasheng Bells), ancient forms were intimately associated with political rite and cultural authority.²

However, the imagery of ancient forms became increasingly detached from its prescribed ritual symbolism after the first quarter of the twelfth century and applied to various contexts of sacred or mundane nature. While some early examples of Song archaic objects still demonstrated a formal influence from objects of high antiquity, many later objects were the result of multiple transformations across the boundaries of medium and form, especially those between bronze, ceramics, and stone, and between text, illustration, and object. The diverse ways of producing archaic objects indicate a changing attitude toward ancient imagery in Southern Song society and reflect the growing complexity of the sociocultural context in which these objects were produced and used.

THREE MODES OF REFASHIONING ANTIQUITY

Starting at the beginning of the twelfth century, the Song antiquarian impulse was expressed through ways no longer limited to collecting or

writing about antiquity. Archaistic objects, which appeared in large quantity and various types, indicate that the practice of appropriating antiquity through material production was actively engaged in by members of various segments of Song society and in very different ways. Three distinctive modes in the making of these objects can be recognized from surviving examples.

The first is characterized by an overall emulation of antiquity. Objects produced in this mode followed their ancient models so closely in their formal features and ritual functions that the models could often be easily identified. A well-known example of such direct imitation is the Zhenghe Cauldron, cast in the sixth year of the Zhenghe era (1116) (figure 3.1).³ The dramatic frontal view of a zoomorphic motif, known as *taotie* since the Song, is almost identical to the decorative motif found on the Shang Taotie Cauldron (*Shang xiangxing taotie ding*, figure 3.2) in the court-commissioned *Illustrated Catalogue of Erudite Antiquity Revised in the Xuanhe Era* (Xuanhe Chong xiug Bogu tulu, hereafter *Xuanhe Erudite Antiquity Illustrated*).⁴ The two vessels not only share the same formal features but also the same measurements.⁵ In terms of their ritual function, both were meant to be used during a sacrificial ceremony to provide offerings to one's ancestors. Through a full appropriation of form and function, archaic objects were often produced with precision and accuracy in typology and decoration comparable to their ancient models. They were meant to be used in a ritual setting similar to the original ritual context. These archaic objects "reenacted" the form and context of the past in order to fulfill the need in the present.⁶

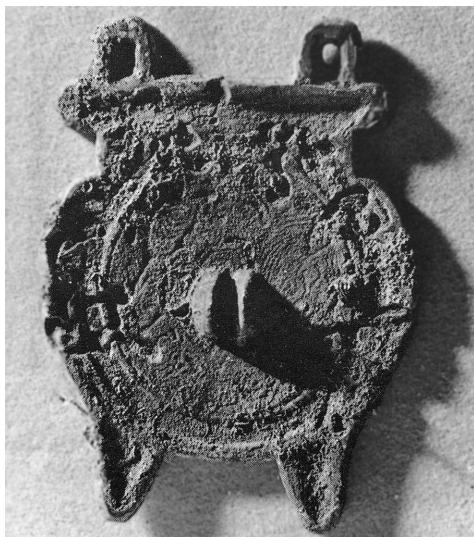
The second mode of production is significant for its semiotic borrowing of forms. Song archaic objects shared identifiable formal features with ancient objects without copying them entirely. The selected formal features adopted from their source were clearly recognizable and the ritual significance evoked through the ancient imagery was similar to that of their ancient models. The selected forms became symbols of which the meanings associated with their ancient origins were easily transmitted from one context to another. It is not surprising that Song archaic objects of this kind were often found in ritual settings, such as burial sites, where similar symbols were needed. A Song object of this kind was discovered in a tomb from Quzhou, Zhejiang.⁷ The shape of this bronze mirror resembles a cauldron, which consisted of a circular contour suggesting the rounded body of the tripod, two angular loops on the top indicating the two ear-handles, and two



3.1. Zhenghe Cauldron.
Dated 1116. Bronze, h. 23 cm,
d. 19.3 cm. From Guoli
gugong bowuyuan, *Qian-*
xinian Song dai wenwu
dazhan tulu, p. 100.



3.2. Shang Taotie Cauldron.
Dated late Shang period (ca.
1200–1100 BCE). From *Xuanhe*
Erudite Antiquity Illustrated,
j. 1. (Zhida edition, fourteenth
century).



3.3. Mirror from Shi Shengzu's tomb in Quzhou, Zhejiang. Dated 1274. Bronze, h. 13 cm. From Quzhou shi, "Zhejiang Quzhou shi Nan Song mu chutu wenwu," *Kaogu*, plate 7, no. 3.

triangular appendages on the bottom representing the legs of the cauldron (figure 3.3). With its general shape that brings to mind an ancient ritual vessel, the bronze mirror was transformed from a mundane utilitarian object into a symbolic representation of antiquity.

The third mode of production focuses on adapting ancient motifs from their ritual origins for decoration. Through processes such as hyperbolization and composition, ancient motifs were incorporated into Song contemporary visual vocabulary while still reminiscent of Chinese antiquity. Ancient motifs were often juxtaposed in Song archaic objects with motifs from various other traditions, most notably Chinese mythological beliefs and landscape painting.⁸ A good example of this juxtaposition can be seen in a Southern Song bronze steamer found in Jiangyou, Sichuan (figure 3.4).⁹ Like its ancient prototype, this large bronze steamer originally consisted of top and bottom parts; however, only the top survived, decorated with motifs and appendages that have their origins in ancient objects. Two squared handles extend upright from slightly beneath the lip on opposite sides of the body. Two other handles, curvilinear in shape, topped with two horned animal heads and attached with two large loose rings, stretch out from opposite sides of the body right under the upturning handles. Squared and curvilinear handles have been found in Shang-Zhou ritual bronzes, but they never appeared together in the same object. In the Southern Song steamer, however, both types of ancient handles were adopted superfluously, enlarged

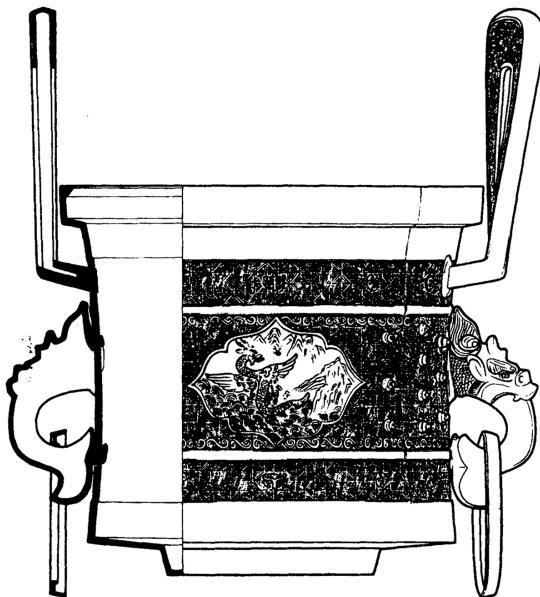


3.4. Top portion of a double steamer from Jiangyou, Sichuan. Late twelfth century. Bronze, h. 32.5 cm. Photograph by author.

and exaggerated in size and shape. The result is an unmistakably contemporary hyperbolic rendition of the original ancient forms.

In the midsection of the body a wide decorative band that covers most of the surface is decorated with columns of small rounded protrusions, apparently inspired by an ancient prototype known as the “nipples” pattern (*ruding wen*). Between the two groups of “nipples” is a pointed four-lobed panel with images in low-relief, which shows a winged half-fish, half-dragon mythical creature displaying its power and reaching for a pearl in a landscape of majestic mountain peaks in the upper right and rolling waves of water in the lower left (figure 3.5). The main motif in this pictorial panel was known as *Mojie*, a Chinese name for *Makara*—a half-beast, half-fish aquatic monster in Indian mythological traditions.¹⁰ Introduced to China through the spread of Buddhism, the Indian water creature was popularized during the Sui-Tang period as a benevolent Buddhist beast and later conflated with the Chinese dragon, also a divine water creature, in Chinese folklore about fish-dragon transformation.¹¹

Scholars have suggested that, by the early eleventh century, *Mojie* was already depicted as a winged creature with a dragon head and fish tail.¹²



3.5. Drawing of the top portion of a double steamer from Jiangyou, Sichuan. From “Jiangyou faxian jingmei Song dai jiaocang tongqi,” *Sichuan wenwu* 4 (2004) no. 9, figure 2.

Throughout the Song the divine dragon-fish hybrid was widely recognized as an auspicious symbol for upward mobility and good fortune.¹³ Often depicted frolicking in swirling water or holding a pearl in the mouth, this popular image could be seen in everyday objects, such as bronze mirrors (figure 3.6).¹⁴ Surrounded by archaic motifs, such as the “nipples” and the curved animal-headed handles, the fantastical animal was featured prominently in a Chinese landscape and framed within an ornate panel on the a Shang-Zhou-style bronze steamer. The juxtaposition of ritualistic motifs from the ancient orthodox tradition and an auspicious symbol from contemporary popular culture of a heterodox origin suggests that motifs from Chinese antiquity could be appropriated for secular use, especially for visual and aesthetic appeal. It also reveals a kind of ideological suppleness in Chinese archaic objects that went beyond political idealism.

The three modes of producing Song archaic objects represent very different approaches in applying antiquity to contemporary settings. The first mode facilitated political agendas in which recapturing ancient rituals through the making of archaic objects was essential. The second and third modes, often found in ritual settings as well, helped to create cultural identities and aestheticized experiences for individuals through antiquity.

3.6. Mirror with the fish-dragon transformation decoration and a long handle. Jin dynasty. Bronze, h 23.5 cm, w. 11.5 cm, d. 0.9 cm.
Guanfu Museum.



REENACTING ANTIQUITY THROUGH IMITATION

Various studies have suggested that Song archaic objects that directly imitated the forms and functions of ancient ritual objects were the results of attempts to restore ritual practices to ancient ways.¹⁵ It is therefore important to examine these objects in the historical context of Song ritual reform in order to understand the relationship between their formal features and their ritual functionality. The finest examples were produced during the reign of Emperor Huizong, who was the most enthusiastic collector of ancient objects in the Song period. Among the surviving ritual objects commissioned by him, a set of bells (originally named the Dasheng Bells) was the first set of works produced according to Huizong's vision of proper state rituals (figure 3.7).¹⁶



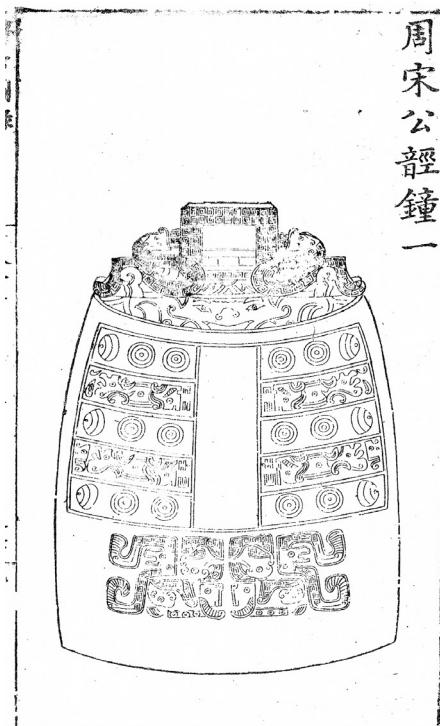
3.7. Dasheng “Nan lù zhong sheng” Bell. Dated 1105. Bronze, h. 28 cm, w. 18.4 cm, d. 15 cm. Liaoning Provincial Museum. From Yang Renkai, *Liaoning sheng bowuguan cangbaolu*, 23.

Cast in 1105 to perform newly composed ritual music, the bells were tuned to a standard pitch that was determined based on a purportedly ancient method in which the lengths of the emperor’s five fingers determined the lengths of five pitch pipes.¹⁷ The emperor was convinced that this unusual approach to the reform of ritual music was passed down from the Yellow Emperor, the earliest of the legendary ancient sage-rulers in traditional historiography. Pleased with the harmonious sounds of the new pitches, Huizong believed that he had recovered the true ritual music once used by the sage-rulers of antiquity. The success of his effort was further confirmed by the appearance of cranes dancing to the music, an auspicious sign (*xiangrui*) recorded repeatedly in Song official documents.¹⁸ The

magnificent sight of one such occasion was represented in the painting *Auspicious Cranes* (*Ruihe tu*), attributed to Huizong himself, in which twenty white cranes circle above the southern palace gate, surrounded by swirling golden clouds.¹⁹ The solemn harmony of the ritual music performed at the gate is pictorially suggested by the gracefully choreographed pattern formed by the dancing cranes. According to the painting's inscription by the emperor to give an account of this awe-inspiring scene, the appearance of the cranes, referred to as "immortal birds," was clearly a sign of heaven's approval.²⁰

Not only was the music subject to scrutiny against ancient standards, but the form and décor of the Dasheng Bells were also carefully modeled on ancient examples. The correct form of a ritual bell was under debate in the Song court throughout the eleventh century.²¹ During Emperor Renzong's (r. 1022–1063) ritual reform in the Huangyou era (1049–1053), it was noticed that current ritual bells differed in size from ancient examples.²² In 1063, Ouyang Xiu commented on the difference between the round shape of a current bell and the oval shape of an ancient bell; he believed the latter was more authentic.²³ During the Yuanyou era (1086–1093) scholars noticed that ancient bells of the same set gradually decreased in size, but current bells remained uniform in size. The current bells were therefore criticized for deviating from the size regulation demonstrated in ancient models.²⁴ By the end of the eleventh century, ancient bells were already accepted by Song ritual reformers as models on which to evaluate current ritual bells.

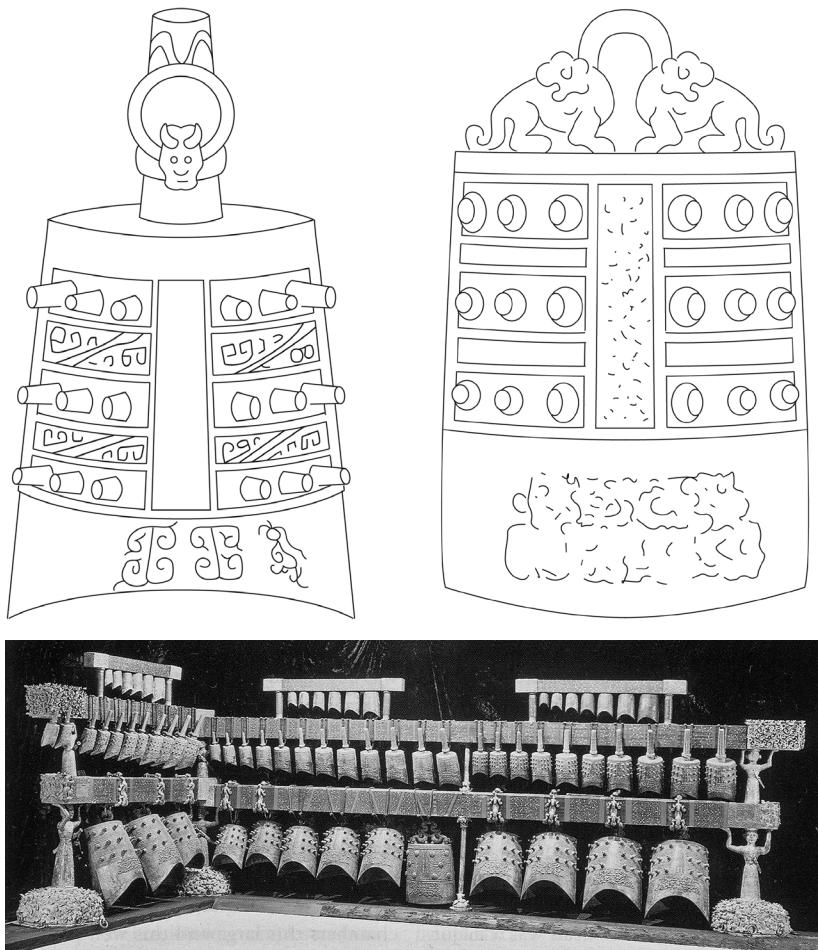
When a set of six ancient bells that belonged to the Duke of Song in the Zhou dynasty (Zhou Song Gong Jing zhong, hereafter the Jing Bells, figure 3.8) were unearthed from Yingtian Superior Prefecture (in today's Shangqiu, Henan) in 1104, they were immediately sent to the Song court as an important reference for the casting of new ritual bells.²⁵ The close connection between the Jing Bells and the subsequently cast Dasheng Bells is clearly demonstrated in their formal similarity. The most important aspect in their similarity is that they both belong to the *bo*-bell type, an important category in bronze bells characterized by a flat and even rim on the bottom and by the decorative openwork on the top.²⁶ The choice of the *bo*-bell type for the imperial bells was a curious one. The majority of ancient bells in the imperial collection belonged to the *yong*-bell type, another major type of ritual bells. Instead of a flat and even rim, this type has a curved and pointed rim extending downward on both sides of the body. Different from an ornate hanger, which stands upright on top and allows a *bo*-bell to be suspended



3.8. Zhou Jing Bell of the Duke of Song 1. From *Xuanhe Erudite Antiquity Illustrated*, j. 22 (Yizhengtang edition, 1752).

vertically, a *yong*-bell is topped with a cylindrical appendage with a side ring, which orients the bell in an oblique position on the performance rack (figure 3.9). Among the eleven sets of ancient bells included in *Xuanhe Erudite Antiquity Illustrated* that had four or more pieces, only two sets were *bo*-bells, one of which was the Jing Bells, while all the others were *yong*-bells.²⁷ The Song court's choice of the *bo*-bell type, rather than the more common *yong*-bell type, as the model for casting the new ritual bells requires further examination, particularly regarding the significance of the Jing Bells' discovery to the Song court in 1104.

As soon as they were discovered, the Jing Bells were immediately declared "auspicious signs" and presented to the Song court.²⁸ The view was certainly welcomed by Emperor Huizong and became an official interpretation.²⁹ For the court the auspicious symbolism of the ancient bells was indisputable for several reasons. First, the Jing Bells were historically and geographically tied to the founding of the Song dynasty. They were discovered at a location that was part of the historical state of Song, established in the early Zhou dynasty (mid-eleventh century BCE); the current Song dynasty was named



3.9. (left) Standard form of a *yong*-bell. (right) Standard form of a *bo*-bell. From Luo and Luo, *Guwenwu chengwei tudian*, 267–68. (lower center) Suspended *yong*-bells and a *bo*-bell from the tomb of Marquis Yi of Zeng. Late fifth century BCE. From Hubei sheng bowuguan, *Zeng hou Yi mu wenwu yishu*, 8–9.

after this ancient state.³⁰ The historical-geographical connection between the Jing Bells and the founding of the dynasty was further confirmed by the inscription found on the bells, which reads “Song Duke Cheng’s Jing Bell,” indicating that the bells once belonged to an ancient Song ruler.³¹ The bells were discovered at the height of ritual reform in the Song court, when the making of new ritual bells was in progress with great fervor.³² The emergence of these ancient bells, inscribed with graphs representing the dynastic

name, was therefore widely believed to be an affirmative response from heaven to the profligate reform endeavor. The bells were received as a divine directive for the making of new instruments, which the emperor elucidated in his commemoration of the event: “Because of the will of Heaven, the treasure [i.e., the Jing Bells] of Duke Cheng of Song emerged from the place where [our] heavenly mandate was received. I measured their forms as standards, which would help me with what I intended to accomplish.”³³

Perhaps the most important reason for the Song court to model their new bells on the ancient ones is that the Jing Bells were believed to have a direct connection to the music performed by sage-rulers in antiquity. The essay about the Jing Bells in *Xuanhe Erudite Antiquity Illustrated* explained that as a direct descendant from the Shang royal house, Duke Cheng of Song had inherited ritual music from previous sage-rulers.³⁴ A similar understanding was expressed by the court scholar Dong You (fl. early twelfth century), an expert on ancient objects who was also a main adviser for the Song ritual reform.³⁵ Dong further argued that the graph *jing 錚* in the inscription cast on the bells should be read as a loan for another graph *jing 莊*, which referred to the Six Stems (*Liu jing*), the music of the legendary sage-ruler Emperor Zhuan from high antiquity.³⁶ The Song reformers believed that these ancient instruments had actually been used by Duke Cheng to perform the Jing Music, which he inherited from Zhuan. The Jing Bells therefore served as a perfect model for Song reformers in their effort to re-create instruments in ancient forms to perform the sacred music of their own time.

The examination of the Dasheng Bells in the historical context of the ritual reform implemented in the early twelfth century reveals a desire strongly felt throughout the Song court to reenact the practices of ancient rituals through the making and remaking of Song ritual paraphernalia. The desire was later extended from state ritual music to state rites in general. Greatly encouraged by the positive outcome of the Dasheng Bells, Emperor Huizong issued an order in 1113 to establish the Bureau of Ritual Production under his direct supervision to produce all necessary ritual paraphernalia.³⁷ For a given ritual object, the Bureau of Ritual Production would consult ancient objects in the imperial collection, discuss their use in related ritual practices and changes in history, and eventually propose a proper design, which would be presented to the emperor. The emperor would give his critique on the design, and modification would be made for final production. Through this meticulous procedure a large amount of archaic ritual objects were produced in the 1110s before the Bureau of Ritual Production

was forced to close down in 1120 due to the excessive production costs. Modeled closely on Shang-Zhou examples in the imperial collection, the ritual vessels produced by the bureau displayed a formal affinity with their ancient prototypes, as the surviving Zhenghe Cauldron, which closely resembles the Shang Taotie Cauldron, demonstrates.³⁸ The body surface in both vessels is divided into three panels by three vertical flanges, with each panel occupied by the same primary decorative motif, commonly known since the Song as *taotie*, a mystical creature in ancient legends. The body of both vessels is supported by three unadorned cylindrical legs, of which the top ends are slightly wider than the bottom ends. The two handles of both vessels stand straight up from the rim, characteristic of the cauldron type from the late Shang period, when the *Taotie Cauldron* was likely to have been produced.

Despite the formal features shared between the Shang ritual vessel and its Song imitation, there exists a critical difference. The main motif in the Shang *Taotie Cauldron* is divided by a central flange, which decisively cuts the motif into two symmetrical halves; in the *Zhenghe Cauldron* the central flange is replaced with a subtle ridge, which barely reaches the top edge of the decorative panel (figure 3.10). The central flange in the *taotie* motif was a common feature of Shang ritual vessels, closely related to the piece-mold casting process used at that time.³⁹ While strengthening the motif as a frontal image of the face of a mystical creature by giving it a central focus, the central flange dissolves the motif by transforming it into two confronting animals in profile. The visual ambivalence created by the central flange prevents the *taotie* motif from being pinned down to either interpretation and thus grants the motif an additional layer of mystical power. The ambivalence is entirely missing in the *Zhenghe Cauldron*. The central flange is replaced here by a subtle nose bridge connecting the forehead of the mystical creature and the nostrils down below. With the addition of the nose bridge, the frontal view of the face is clearly defined by the natural arrangement of the nose, eyes, eyebrows, horns, forehead, and mouth, while the alternative reading of two confronting animals in profile is entirely eradicated. The transformation of the *taotie* motif in the *Zhenghe Cauldron* is a result of a critical development of the interpretation of this prominent ancient motif during the Song period. The interpretation of the motif as an iconlike frontal representation of the legendary beast *Taotie* from ancient legends was first documented by Li Gonglin, whose essay was preserved in Lü Dalin's *Examining Antiquity Illustrated*.⁴⁰



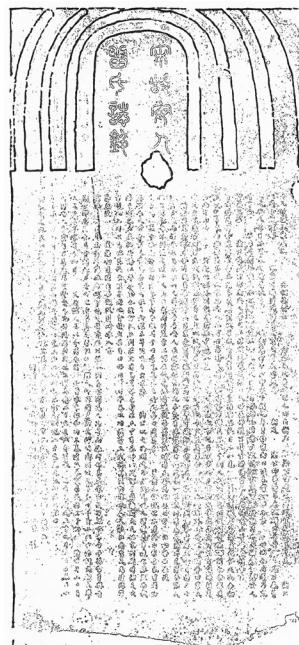
3.10. *Taotie* motif on the Zhenghe Cauldron (see figure 3.1).

Li argued that the image represented “the face of the beast” named *Taotie* from ancient texts as a warning against greed and gluttony. His interpretation was groundbreaking, for the meaning of this motif had never been explicitly discussed before the late eleventh century.⁴¹ Li’s interpretation was subsequently sanctioned by the Song court as the standard interpretation of the motif, as indicated in a passage from the introductory essay to the cauldron category in *Xuanhe Erudite Antiquity Illustrated*, which reads: “Therefore, the sages . . . made representations of *Taotie* to admonish against greed.”⁴² To uphold the court-sanctioned interpretation of this prominent motif in the ancient ritual pictorial vocabulary, it was necessary for the Song court to modify the motif so that any competing readings or ambiguity in meaning were eliminated. The transformation of the *taotie* motif from an ambivalent composite of encrypted image(s) open to multiple interpretations in the Shang *Taotie* Cauldron to a naturally structured iconic image associated with a definite meaning in the Zhenghe Cauldron embodies this effort.

ESTABLISHING CULTURAL IDENTITY THROUGH SEMIOTIC BORROWING

Reenacting the past is always heavily conditioned by concerns for the present. During the Song ritual reform, how the Song contemporary viewed the meanings of certain ancient object types or decorative motifs had a profound impact on the reform’s final outcome. The influence of the present on

3.11. Ink rubbing of “Epitaph for the Late Lady née Liu of the Song” (Song gu anren Liu shi zhiming). Dated 1199–1200. H. 112 cm, Pengshan, Sichuan. “Nan Song Yu Gongzhu,” 400, plate 21.



the making of Song archaic ritual objects, even though they modeled their forms closely on ancient examples, had largely to do with the fact that these objects were produced for the contemporary practice of state rituals. Such rituals were inevitably conducted based on political objectives of the present time. Did the present exercise a strong influence on the making of Song archaic objects produced outside of the political context of the Song imperial court? What were the concerns and conditions in the production of archaic objects by individuals of the Song society, rather than the Song state? A stone stele found in a Southern Song tomb from the early thirteenth century provides a good opportunity to explore the issues of private sponsorship in the making of Song archaic objects.

The stele, titled “Epitaph for the Late Lady née Liu of the Song” (*Song gu anren Liu shi zhiming*, hereafter the *Liu Stele*) was commissioned by Yu Gongzhu (1165–1226), a high-ranking scholar-official from Sichuan, to commemorate his wife, née Liu, who died in 1199 and was buried the following year in Meizhou (in today’s Pengshan, Sichuan).⁴³ Standing in the tomb before the door to the coffin chamber, the stele bears a long and moving account of Liu’s life, composed by her husband Yu (figure 3.11).

Epitaphic inscriptions were often found in Song tombs.⁴⁴ However, compared with common practice in the Song, the Liu Stele is very unusual for its format, content, and position within the tomb. As the authoritative scholar on Confucian ritual Zhu Xi (1130–1200) described, a standard Song epitaph stone (*zhishi*) consisted of two square slabs, the top one inscribed with a few large characters in seal script to identify the deceased and the bottom one inscribed with a concise passage about the life of the deceased.⁴⁵ The two slabs were stacked to form the shape of a horizontal box, usually less than one meter high on each side. Zhu's description was confirmed by many excavated examples found in recent years.⁴⁶ The format of Song epitaphs of this kind is believed to be a continuation of the format developed since the Wei-Jin period (220–420 CE), reaching maturity during the Tang (618–907 CE).⁴⁷

Different from the standard format described by Zhu, another type of funerary stone carving consisting of a single rectangular, upright slab of stone was also commonly found in Song tombs. These stone carvings were often in the shape of a horizontal or vertical rectangle with the top two corners removed or occasionally with a rounded top. In most cases, a few large characters in seal script to identify the deceased appear on the top portion of the slab, while a concise passage about the life of the deceased appears on the main body of the slab. Stone carvings of this type, usually less than one meter in height or width, were often found standing with or without a base in the tomb. Occasionally they were found mounted on the back wall of the coffin chamber.⁴⁸ Even though these two types of stones differ greatly in form, the structure and function of the inscriptions that appear on them are basically identical.⁴⁹

The Liu Stele does not belong to either type of epitaphic stone carvings in common use during the Song. The differences between the Liu Stele and the common epitaphs types are immediately noticeable by virtue of its size and décor. Compared with the two common types, the stele is exceptionally large: 189 centimeters in height including the base.⁵⁰ The height of the stele resembles more closely the epitaphic stelae from the Eastern Han (25–220 CE), as demonstrated by a well preserved example from a funerary park built in the early third century for Gao Yi, the governor of Yizhou (near today's Chengdu, Sichuan) who died in 209 CE (figure 3.12).⁵¹ Other surviving examples of epitaphic stelae from the Eastern Han period testify to a monumental scale, often exceeding two meters in height.⁵² In terms of decoration, the Liu Stele differs significantly from the upright single-slab type of Song



3.12. Gao Yi Stele. Dated 209 CE. Stone, h. 275 cm. Ya'an, Sichuan. Photograph by author.

epitaphs. Most surviving examples of this type are undecorated, or only incised with simple floral patterns along the edges of the stone.⁵³

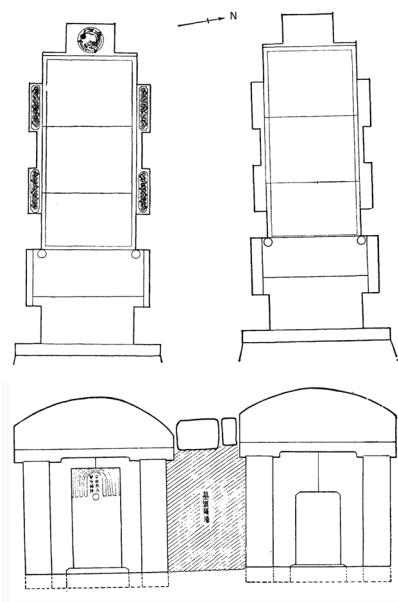
The Liu Stele, however, has three very bold curves on the top portion, which form a nesting semicircular pattern with a wider interval in between lines on the right than on the left. The curvilinear pattern demonstrates an affiliation with the epitaphic stelae from the Eastern Han. Based on the forms and decorations, especially on the top portion, three types of the stelae were prominent in the Eastern Han period: the scepter-top type (*guishou*), the dragon-top type (*chishou*), and the corona-top type (*yunshou*)—all of which are represented by surviving examples (figure 3.13).⁵⁴



3.13. (left) Scepter-top type (*guishou*): Kong Xian Stele, 220 CE, Qufu, Shandong. (center) Dragon-top type (*chishou*): Gao Yi Stele, 209 CE, Ya'an, Sichuan. (right) Corona-top type (*yunshou*): Kong Zhou Stele, 163 CE, Qufu, Shandong. Photographs by author.

With its curvilinear pattern it is clear that the Liu Stele closely resembles the corona-top stelae of the Eastern Han. The large scale and ancient motif of the Liu Stele seem to suggest a conscientious program to appropriate ancient funerary form and practice. However, further analysis of the tomb reveals that such an archaic effort is not consistent with the structural design in the rest of the tomb. The incompatibility between the archaic stele and the tomb's contemporary structure underscores the function of the appropriated ancient forms as cultural emblems for Yu, his wife, and their family.

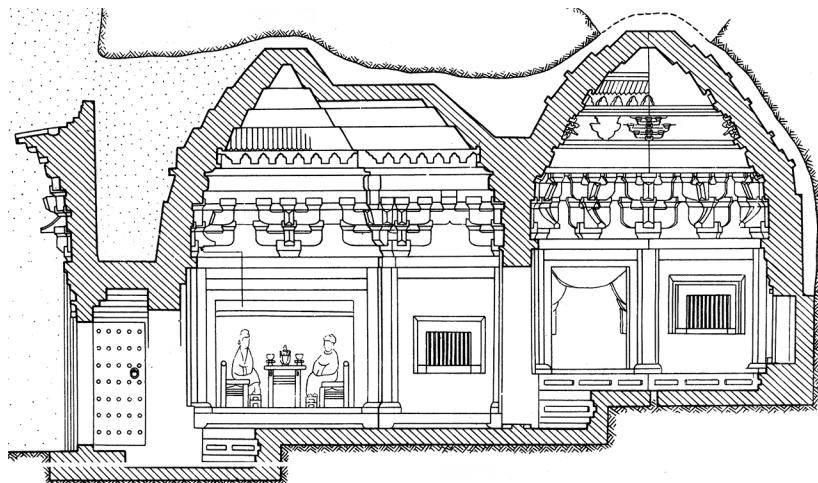
The tomb for Yu Gongzhu and his wife, née Liu, consists of two parallel rectangular stone structures, identical in layout but not built at the same time.⁵⁵ Both structures are about 1.6 to 1.9 meters in width, 3 meters in height, and 5 meters in length. The layout includes two separate spaces along the same axis, the narrow space between the sealing blocks and the door panels, which was called the “offering hall” (*xiangtang*) in the excavation report, and the rectangular room located behind the door panels, which was called the “coffin chamber” (*guanshi*) in the excavation report (figure 3.14). Although the excavation report correctly termed the latter space “the coffin chamber,” for it contained traces of the coffin, it is not clear whether the former space was indeed used for making offerings to the deceased. The structure on the south, called the “west chamber” (*xishi*) in the excavation report, was commissioned by Yu Gongzhu for his wife in 1199–1200 and decorated with reliefs of animal figures that form a coherent pictorial program commonly found in the tombs of literati in Sichuan during the twelfth to thirteenth century.⁵⁶ The structure on the north, called the “east chamber” (*dongshi*) in the excavation report, was commissioned by the Yu family for Yu Gongzhu in 1226–1227 and has a similar but much simpler decorative program.



3.14. Layout (top) and frontal view (bottom) of the tombs for Yu Gongzhu (right) and his wife, née Liu (left). Dated 1199–1227. From Sichuan sheng, “Nan Song Yu Gongzhu fufu,” 384–401, figures 1 and 2.

The tomb of Yu Gongzhu and his wife is associated with a new type of burial structure developed during the Song based on the literati vision of family rituals.⁵⁷ Leading literati ritualists, particularly Sima Guang (1019–1086) and later Zhu Xi, worked hard to create and promote new ritual practices appropriate for the literati, a social class that first fully emerged in society during the Song.⁵⁸ The Song literati ritualists believed that the new rituals should return to the original Confucian ideals by purging any elements of non-Confucian origins in current practices, especially those of Buddhism. They also insisted that the new rituals should instill moral values and be true to human feelings with an emphasis on the meaning conveyed by the practices, not the practices themselves. More important, the new rituals should reflect progressive aspects of contemporary life that were adapted without compromising their Confucian principles. Translated into burial practices, these views condemned heterodox imagery and superstitious symbolism, which would lead to ignorance and vulgarity.

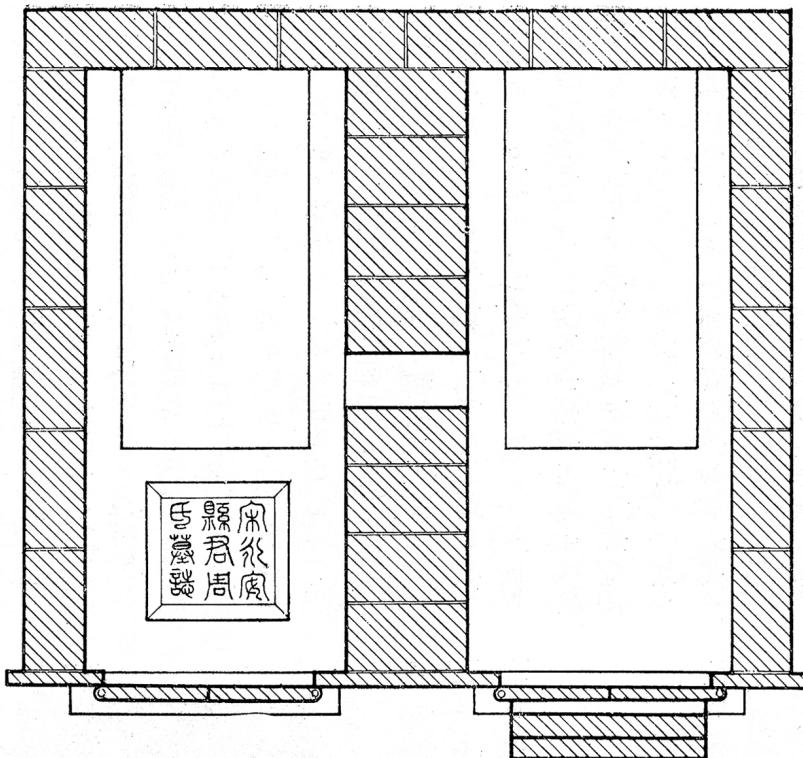
They equally condemned elaborate tomb structures and superfluous furnishings, which would only encourage presumption and crime. Instead, they supported simple and economical burial, which reflected Confucian moral values of modesty and solemnity, the human feelings befitting the context of a burial site. As a result, Song tombs for literati were often very



3.15. Structure of the Song tomb M1. Dated 1099. Baisha, Henan. From Su Bai, *Baisha Song mu*, plate 60.

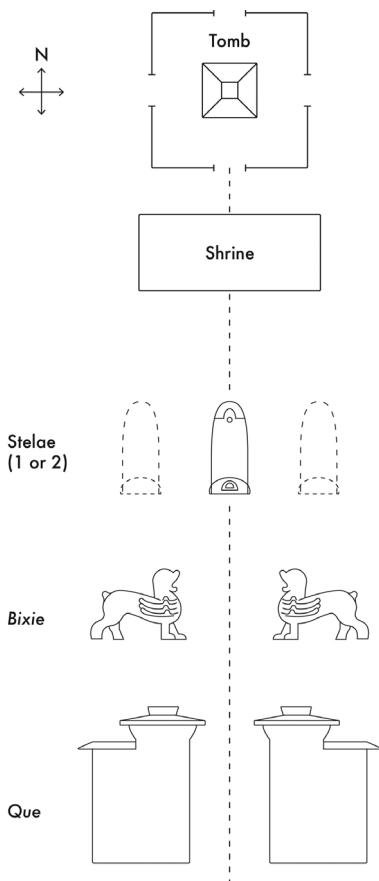
modest in size and structure, and simple in decoration and furnishing, compared to the Song tombs for wealthy merchants or local gentry. The latter were often replicas of an elaborate household, richly decorated with scenes such as sitting rooms, kitchens, servant quarters, gardens, farm fields, as exemplified by the tombs built for members of a wealthy merchant family in Baisha during the late eleventh to early twelfth century (figure 3.15).⁵⁹ On the contrary, archaeological evidence shows that a typical tomb for Song literati was no more than a vertical pit, some of which were lined with a simple brick or stone structure, while many others lacked any structure. The pit was often just big enough to contain an epitaph and a coffin, as demonstrated in the tomb for Zhang Yong (1007–1086) and his wife, née Zhou (1002–1082) (figure 3.16).⁶⁰

Guided by Confucian moral principles, the general structure of tombs for Song literati also exhibits family values and gender propriety. One of the structural features related to this is the position of the epitaphs for the wives of Song literati in husband-and-wife double tombs, which was inside the wives' coffin chambers, as demonstrated by the epitaphs for Zhang Yong's wife, née Zhou (d. 1082), buried in Changde, Hunan; for Su Kuo's wife, née Huang (d. 1123), buried in Jiaxian, Henan; for Dong Kangsi's wife, née Zhou (d. 1206), buried in Zhuji, Zhejiang; and for Xu Jun's wives, née Chen (d. 1249) and née Zhao (d. 1287), buried in Fuzhou, Fujian.⁶¹ The broad geographic spread and



3.16. Layout of the tomb for Zhang Yong (right) and his wife, née Zhou (left). Dated 1082–1086. Changde, Hunan. From “Hunan Changde bei Song Zhang Yong mu,” 234, figure 3.

long time span indicates that concealing the wife's epitaph inside her coffin chamber was a well-established practice for Song literati from the late Northern Song throughout the Southern Song period.⁶² In light of this, it is unusual that the Liu Stele, which was the epitaph for Yu's wife, was found outside her coffin chamber, standing conspicuously in front of the two door panels leading to the tomb. Not only did the position of the Liu Stele deviate significantly from the literati burial norm; its imposing size upset the general principle of modesty in the tomb. The height of the stele, almost two meters including the base, created a tension between the stele and the surrounding narrow space, the so-called “offering hall,” which was less than one meter in depth. The tension was further heightened by the very peculiar incompleteness of the corona motif on the top of the stele, which suggested that the stele had to be trimmed down in order to fit into the tomb.

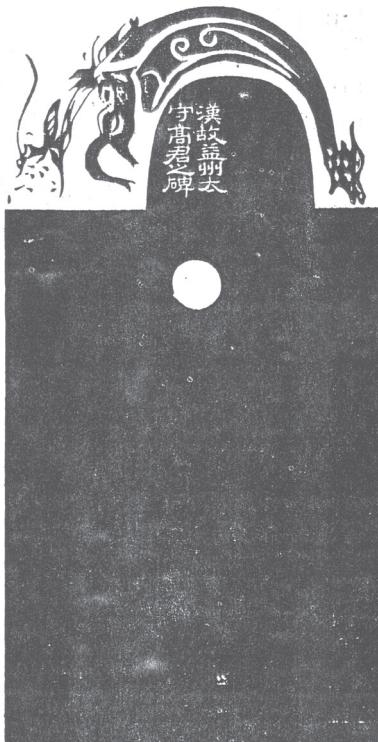


3.17. (left) Diagram of an Eastern Han funerary park. Reproduced from Wu Hung, *Monumentality in Early Chinese Art and Architecture*, 191, figure 4.1. (right) Remaining *que*-gate and animal sculpture from Gao Yi's funerary park. Ya'an, Sichuan. Photograph by author.

The Liu Stele's puzzling features were results of archaic appropriation. During the Eastern Han period (25–220 CE), when funerary parks (*lingyuan*) for aristocrats and court officials were built with monumental stone structures, the significance of an epitaphic stele (*mubei*) was marked by its imposing size and central location in the park. Although no such structures from the Eastern Han have survived intact, scholars have reconstructed a general layout of a funerary park from surviving fragments and also based on records in the *Commentary on the Waterways Classic* (*Shuijing zhu*), an ancient text on geography dated to the sixth century.⁶³ As shown in the reconstruction (figure 3.17), the first part of a typical Eastern Han funerary park, which marked the entrance and differentiated the spiritual ground from the space outside, is a pair of *que*-gates.⁶⁴ Immediately following the gates into the park was the spirit road (*shendao*), which marked the park's central axis.⁶⁵

The spirit road, often lined with stone figures and animals on both sides, guided the visitors to the third part of the funerary park, which was where commemorative rituals for the deceased would take place. One or more epitaphic stelae stood on the central axis along the spirit road in front of a stone offering shrine dedicated to the deceased. Eventually, at the end of the spirit road was the tomb, an underground burial structure covered by an earthen mound.⁶⁶ As the visitors traveled down the spirit road from the *que*-gates, the stele, with its central location and imposing height, would oblige them to pause in their procession. The visitors would acknowledge the life and deeds of the deceased by reading through the stele inscription, which consisted of the name and official title of the deceased, often in large seal-script characters on top of the stele, and the details of the deceased's life inscribed in the main text, often in clerical script. A good example of an Eastern Han epitaphic stele in its original mortuary context is the Gao Yi Stele, located near Pengshan, which was the native place of the Yu family and also where Yu's tomb was found.

According to the *Annotations of the Clerical Script* (*Li shi*), an antiquarian text by Hong Kuo (1117–1184) who recorded nearly two hundred ancient stelae from the Han-Wei period (the second century BCE to third century CE), the Gao Yi Stele was still well preserved during the second half of the twelfth century when Hong compiled his book (figure 3.18).⁶⁷ Although it is difficult to know whether Yu Gongzhu had actually visited Gao Yi's burial site in the neighboring town, we can safely assume that knowledge about Eastern Han burial sites and epitaphic stelae was readily available to him through antiquarian studies and actual remains in the local region. This assumption is supported by an interesting detail on the rendering of the corona motif on top of the Liu Stele. On the one hand, the stiffness of the grooves reveals Yu's knowledge about the rendition of the same motif in Hong's book, where the three-dimensional grooves were characteristically flattened and became two-dimensional stiff lines in the process of printmaking. On the other hand, the complete curve of every groove in the corona motif indicates Yu's familiarity with actual stelae of this type. Because the grooves often curved around the top from the front to the side of the stele, as demonstrated in the surviving examples (figure 3.19), the printed images in Hong's book, which were based on rubbings of the front side of the stele, could capture only the front part of the grooves, resulting in incomplete curves that were truncated at the top. The inclusion of both the front and side portions of the grooves suggests that Yu must have



3.18. Woodcut print of the Gao Yi Stele. Mid- to late nineteenth century. From Hong Kuo, *Continuing the Annotations of the Clerical Script*, j. 5 (Huimuzhai edition).

observed an actual monument of this type. Drawing from secondary studies of antiquity and firsthand observations of an actual work, he organically combined seemingly incompatible visual features and created an archaic stele that would subtly albeit clearly represent the breadth of his erudition in antiquity.

Yu's careful appropriation of ancient features in the making of the Liu Stele suggests that the stele's conspicuous position in the tomb and its monumental size were also likely to be calculated measures for archaic appropriation. The placing of the stele in front of the tomb, instead of concealing it inside the coffin chamber, strongly recalls the axial layout of an East Han funerary park, in which a commemorative stele was placed centrally in front of the offering shrine and the tumulus. The stele's large scale, made striking by contrasting its height against the narrow space, further strengthened the parallel between the Liu Stele and a monumental stele from an Eastern Han funerary park. However, the relation between the Liu Stele and its ancient predecessor was never meant to be imitative in nature. The eclectic



3.19. The curves on the corona-top of the Kong Zhou Stele in Qufu, Shandong. Photograph by author.

combination of decorative motifs and the awkward spatial arrangement have made it abundantly clear that Yu did not intend to replicate the ancient monument or its ritual setting; he simply meant to appropriate the ritual symbolism associated with the ancient form and to use it as an emblem, the way many other ancient forms were used, to signify cultural authority and social standing.

The role of preserving and interpreting ancient inscriptions constituted a critical part in the cultural identity of Song literati. The understanding of one's responsibility for the cultural heritage was frequently expressed in Song antiquarian writings on ancient inscriptions. This conscientious

effort should be seen as the fruition of a long-term development of the literati's self-perception as the preserver and interpreter of the cultural heritage. Since the mid-eleventh century, ancient inscriptions were increasingly viewed by Song literati as sources of unadulterated historical truth and models of the highest aesthetic achievement.⁶⁸ However, these important examples of the cultural heritage had fallen into a ruinous stage, as Ouyang Xiu often lamented in his colophons. In fact, the apprehension that these ancient inscriptions would soon vanish prompted Ouyang to begin his quest for their rubbings in the attempt to preserve the cultural heritage they represented.⁶⁹ His sentiment must have been shared widely among Song literati, as demonstrated by the copious antiquarian writings produced by literati who began to preserve ancient inscriptions through collecting and documentation.⁷⁰ The sense of obligation to preserve ancient inscriptions, and thereby defend antiquity from falling into obscurity, is perhaps best expressed by the assiduous antiquarian and collector Zhao Mingcheng (1081–1129), the author of *Records of Metal and Stone* (*Jinshi lu*), highly praised for its extensive coverage of ancient inscriptions and erudite commentaries.⁷¹ In an introduction to his book, Zhao pointed out the vulnerability of bronze vessels and stone stelae, despite their seemingly strong and durable material, and identified himself as a guardian of the cultural heritage who preserved the legacy of the Three Dynasties through the book:

Alas! Since the Three Dynasties the [ancient] sages and worthies had left abundant traces on metal and stone [i.e., bronzes and stelae]. However, only these [in my collection] are providentially spared from the damage and destruction caused by weather, wood cutters, and herd boys. Even with their durable material, metal and stone still can not be depended upon for the preservation [of these traces]. . . . However, this book of mine would have a chance to be passed down to the history.⁷²

Yu Gongzhu and his wife, née Liu, certainly belonged to the group of Song literati who shared the same cultural identity as preservers and interpreters of the cultural heritage transmitted down from antiquity. Yu Gongzhu came from an illustrious family in the Shu region (in today's Sichuan) that had produced generations of Confucian scholars and court officials with lofty reputations.⁷³ His father, Yu Yunwen (1110–1174)—a revered prime minister, triumphant military general, and skilled administrator who was

highly regarded for his writing, calligraphy, and scholarship in classics—was also known as an antiquary for his collection of ancient objects, including musical instruments, studio objects, and weaponry.⁷⁴ Yu Gongzhu's wife, née Liu, came from an even more illustrious family in the Min region (in today's Fujian). Her father, Liu Zheng (1129–1206), served as a high official at the imperial court for more than four decades and was also a prime minister for two Song emperors in the late twelfth century. He was a junior colleague to Yu Yunwen, and they greatly admired each other's political and literary accomplishments.⁷⁵

According to the epitaph, the Liu lineage could be traced back to the Zhou dynasty in the early seventh century BCE, when the lineage was a flourishing aristocratic family in the State of Wei (in today's Henan). The family migrated to the south during the chaotic period after the fall of the Han dynasty in the third century. During the early years of the Song dynasty, the Liu family demonstrated loyalty to the founding Song emperor Taizu (r. 960–975) and received honorary titles from the court. In the subsequent generations, leading members of the Liu family continued to serve at high-ranking positions in the Song court. Née Liu's great-grandfather, grandfather, and father had all received honorary titles for their esteemed status. Consequently, she was also given titles because of her family affiliation.⁷⁶

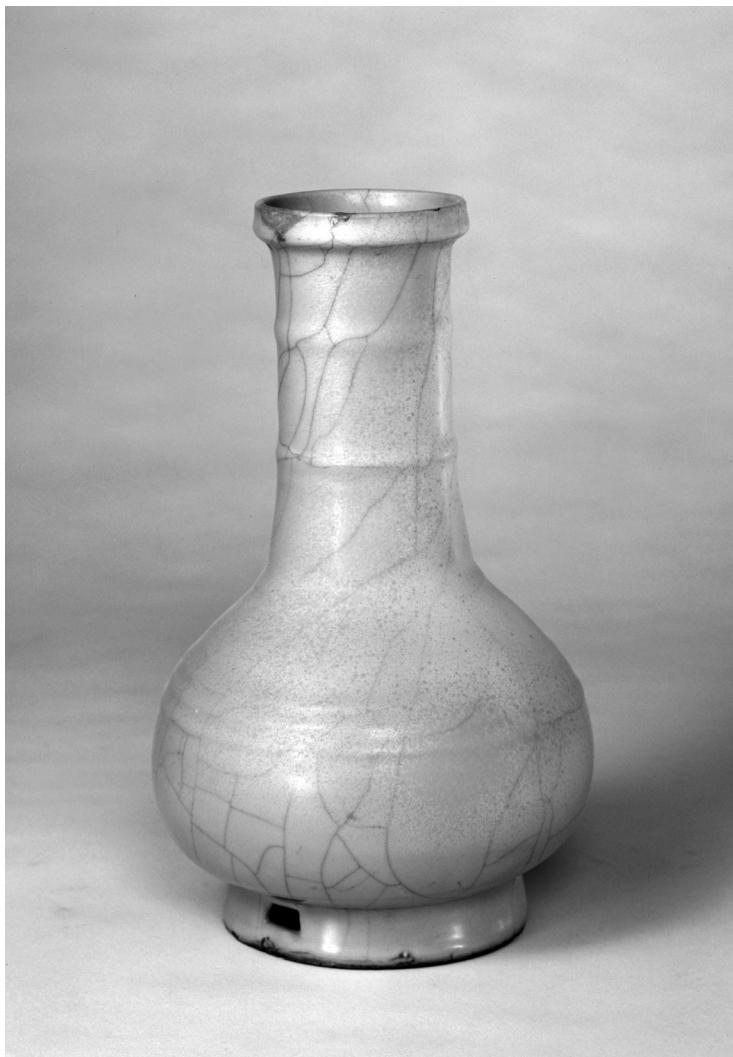
In light of the couple's family background, it is likely that the form of the Liu Stele, which closely imitates an ancient stele, was used as a cultural emblem to symbolize the prestigious position of the two families in Song society. Through its connection to corona-top stelae from ancient times, the Liu Stele provided a palpable association to the practices of the ancient past and served to identify the deceased and their families as those versed in the ways of high antiquity—a hallmark of literati cultural identity. Sentiment about the remote past evoked by the stele was reinforced in concrete terms by the statement in the epitaph, which claimed that they were indeed the descendants of a long lineage stretching back to the ancient past. In other words, the form of an ancient stele was borrowed from its original mortuary context to be used in the contemporary Song context as an emblem that served to establish the cultural identity and to underscore the historical prestige of the two families. The meaning of an ancient stele was thus both emblematic in its original ritual context and semiotic in its new context. Unlike the Dasheng Bells and the Zhenghe Cauldron, which were part of a majestic plan to replicate ancient rituals and to reproduce ritual objects, the Liu Stele was an isolated archaic element in a contemporary tomb.

structure. The intent was not to re-create the setting of an Eastern Han tomb, but to appropriate an ancient form to serve a symbolic function in a contemporary funerary context.

AESTHETICIZING ANTIQUITY AS LITERATI TASTE

In the cases of the Dasheng Bells, the Zhenghe Cauldron, and the Liu Stele, a complete ancient object in its formal entirety was used as the model for the production of contemporary archaic objects. Examples of this—in which archaic objects have a distinctive source of formal characteristics and a well-defined ritual context—are rare in view of the large amount of archaic objects found in archaeological sites and in the storage rooms of many museums. The majority of archaic objects produced after the initial period of the Song antiquarian movement are the results of a complicated blending of formal and contextual appropriations. Antiquity was often just one of the sources upon which the creators of these archaic objects drew. Boundaries were extremely fluid between motifs, types, and materials during the process of appropriation.

The complexity in which antiquity was appropriated in the making of archaic objects can be illustrated with a group of long-neck vases (*changjing ping*) that were commonly found in tombs or caches in the mid- to late Southern Song (the late twelfth century to 1279). Four bronze vases of this type were found in a cache in Langzhong, Sichuan.⁷⁷ Although totally undecorated, the form of these excavated bronze vases closely resembled that of a celadon vase in the collection of the Palace Museum in Beijing, commonly known as a Guan ware vase with bowstring (*xianwen*), referring to the parallel linear decoration encircling the neck and body of the vase (figure 3.20).⁷⁸ Produced in the Song imperial kiln, the celadon vase is likely to have adopted its form and décor from a type of bronze vase datable to the second century BCE, which displayed a similar shape and also the bowstring motif, as demonstrated by a bronze vase in the Musée Guimet (figure 3.21).⁷⁹ The bronze vase and the celadon vase not only share the same pear-shape body, long neck, elevated ring-foot, and the bowstring motif on the body, they are also similar in height and proportion. An even more telling detail in the celadon vase is the ring-foot with two square openings, a feature commonly seen on ancient bronze vessels, which probably resulted from the process of casting. Since it is possible that an ancient bronze vase of this type existed in the Song imperial collection, one can probably



3.20. Guan ware vase with bowstring. Twelfth century. Earthenware covered with greenish glaze and decorated with parallel lines, h. 33.6 cm. Palace Museum, Beijing. In Li, *Liang Song ciqu*, 2: 3.

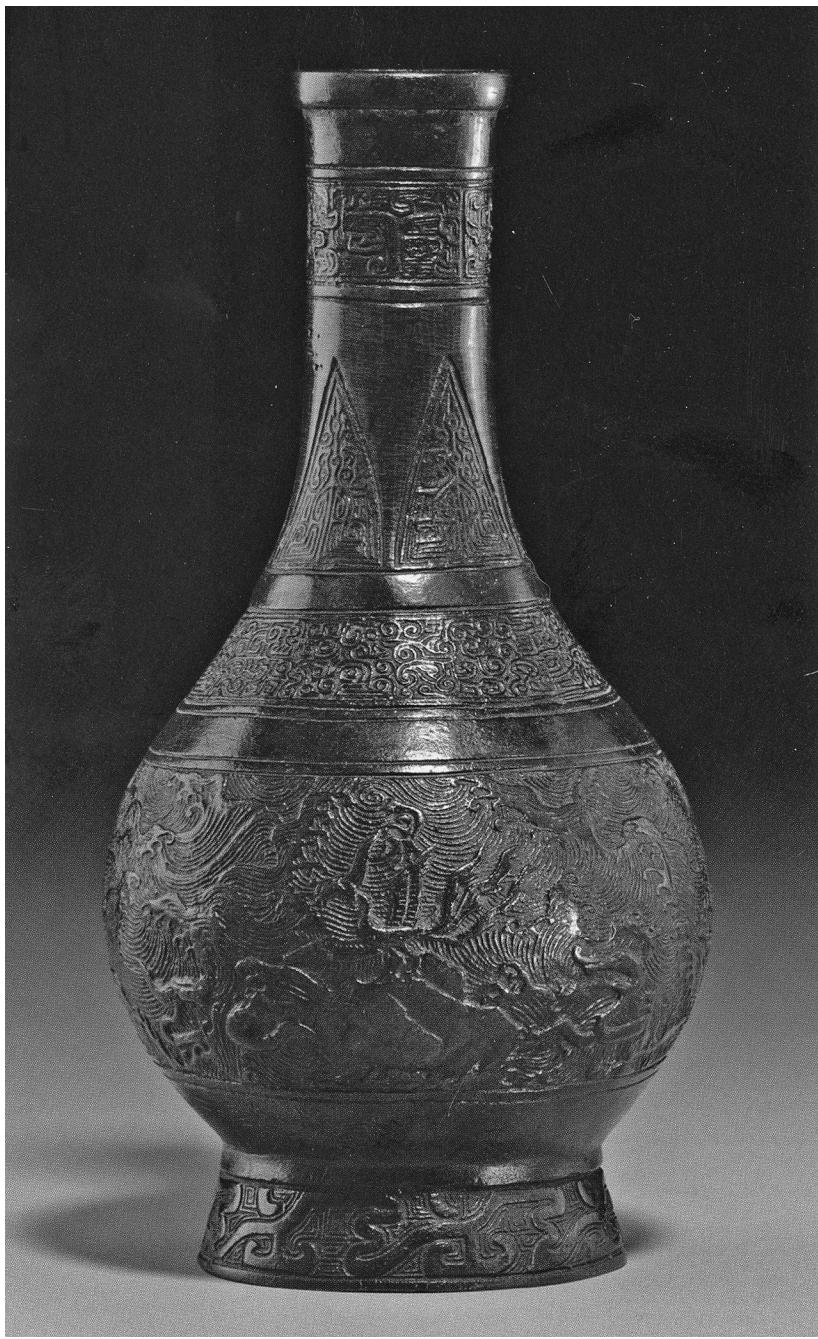
conclude that the celadon vase was modeled on an example of similar ancient bronzes, thereby linking the excavated vases from Langzhong to the ancient model by virtue of their similarity to the celadon vase.

However, the association of the Song vases with their ancient model is severely challenged by a critical difference in that the ancient bronze vase



3.21. Long-neck vase with lid and chains, decorated with archaic motifs. Second century BCE. Bronze gilded with gold and silver, h. 36 cm. Musée Guimet, Paris. In Delacour, *De bronze, d'or et d'argent*, 81.

has a lid attached to the vase's upper body with chains secured by two animal masks. Neither the lid, the chains, nor the animal masks is present in the Song vases. A fourth vase we should consider for the sake of comparison is a bronze vase in the Moss collection, which is also datable to the mid-Southern Song (figure 3.22).⁸⁰ In addition to the similarities in their shapes



3.22. Long-neck vase with triangular patterns and water wave motifs. Twelfth to fourteenth century. Bronze, h. 20.3 cm. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles. From Moss, *Second Bronze Age*, no. 74.

and the bronze material of which they are made, the Moss vase and the Guimet vase share the triangular motif that decorates their necks. However, the Moss vase is closer to the celadon vase from the Palace Museum and the excavated bronze vases from Langzhong in that it does not have any attachments. On the other hand, the Moss vase resembles neither of them in the aspect that its surface is fully decorated with a combination of archaic and contemporary motifs. Five horizontal bands of various widths cover the entire surface of the Moss vase from just under the lip down to the ring-foot. Together with the triangular motifs, these decorative bands—all filled with swirling curvilinear patterns—create an impression of imitated ancient décor. The only exception to the archaic scheme is on the lower part of the Moss vase, the widest part of the body, where overlapping motifs of water waves, rocks, and fantastic animals of phoenixes and dragons form an otherworldly scene. The theme must have been quite popular during the Southern Song, for it was also found on a bronze vase with two beast-handles and archaic motifs dated to the Southern Song, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum (figure 3.23).⁸¹

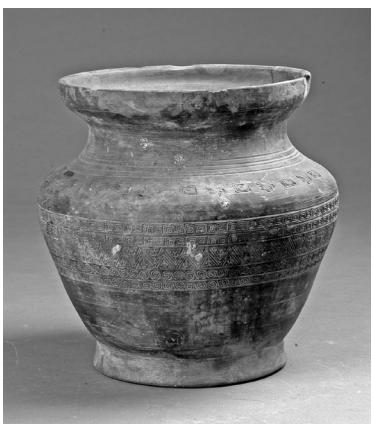
As demonstrated in the case of long-neck vases, stylistic appropriation among archaic objects in the Southern Song transcended the boundaries of material, vessel type, and décor. If in addition to this we consider context and patronage, we may construct an extremely complex matrix that connects all objects, while allowing them to be independent from one another. In order to deal with the complex issues regarding the appropriation of ancient imagery during this period, scholars have attempted to establish a stylistic reference.⁸² The most influential factor in the stylistic development of archaic bronze objects came from antiquarian writings, especially the illustrated catalogues of ancient objects, such as Lü Dalin's *Examining Antiquity Illustrated*, and the imperial catalogue of *Xuanhe Erudite Antiquity Illustrated* for the court collection of ancient objects. Illustrations from these authoritative books and the illustrations derived from them served as primary sources for stylistic transmission of archaic images. For this reason, changes in antiquarian texts, which often occurred during the process of revision, were held accountable for stylistic changes in archaic objects. A good example is found in the ceramic ritual vessels excavated from the tomb of Saiyinchidahu (d. 1365) in Luoyang, which display an uncanny visual resemblance to book illustrations (figure 3.24).⁸³

This formal affiliation can be traced back to the imperial catalogue, *Xuanhe Erudite Antiquity Illustrated* through the *Illustrated Manual of*

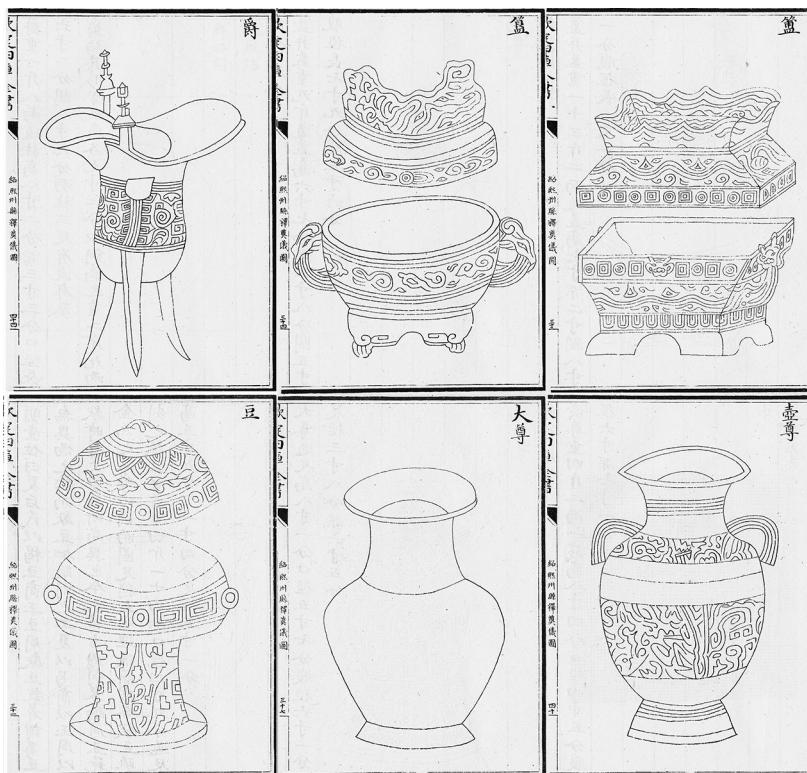


3.23. *Hu*-vase with archaic motifs and inscription. Dated to 1168. Bronze, h. 30.8 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, London. From Kerr, *Later Chinese Bronzes*, 43.

Sacrificial Rites for Prefectures and Counties in the Shaoxi Era (*Shaoxi zhoushixian shidian yitu*, hereafter the *Shaoxi Manual*), a ritual manual intended to provide guidance to local officials for a set of state-mandated worship to Confucius (figure 3.25).⁸⁴ Compiled by the eminent Neo-Confucian and ritualist Zhu Xi in 1194, the *Shaoxi Manual* standardized the paraphernalia and practices in these local rituals by drawing models from antiquity illustrated in the imperial catalogue, part of a long-term effort to bring the results of Emperor Huizong's ritual reform from the central court to the local governments.⁸⁵ A careful comparison between an excavated example



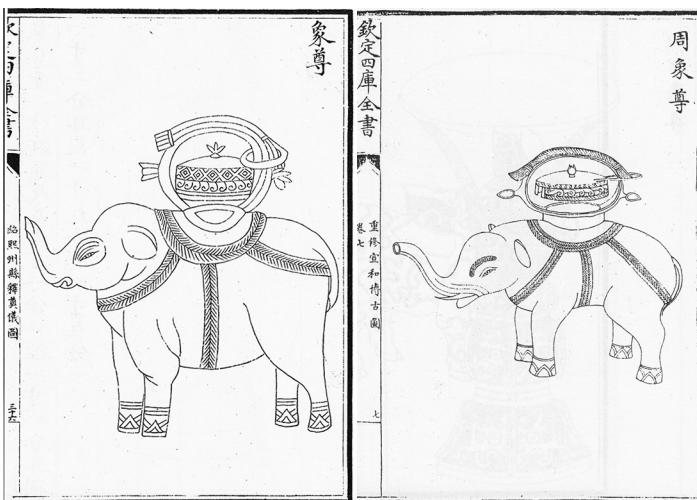
3.24. Ritual vessels from the tomb of Saiyinchidahu. Dated 1365. Ceramics. Luoyang, Henan, Luoyang Museum.



3.25. Line drawings of ritual vessels from the *Shaoxi Manual*, leaves 31, 33, 34, 37, 40, 44 (Siku edition, 1782).

and illustrations from *Shaoxi Manual* and *Xuanhe Erudite Antiquity Illustrated* indicates that publication and circulation of illustrated catalogues and ritual manuals produced on the elite and common levels had a direct impact on the local production of archaic objects (figure 3.26). This is because ancient forms and motifs were spread primarily through printed illustrations and rarely through actual ancient remains or their physical replicas.⁸⁶

Prompted by the critical roles that printed images played in the making and development of Song archaic objects, recent studies have supported the use of illustrated books, like the *Shaoxi Manual*, to understand the making of Song archaic objects. Through tracing editions and reprints of their illustrations, points of reference were established for the study of the formal elements of Song archaic objects. However, this method can



3.26. (top) Elephant Ewer. 1365. Clay, h. 18 cm. Photograph from the Luoyang Museum. (lower left) Elephant Ewer from the *Shaoxi manual*, leaf 36 (Siku edition, 1782). (lower right) Elephant Ewer from *Xuanhe Erudite Antiquity Illustrated*, j. 7 (Siku edition, 1782).

be problematic, especially when stylistic appropriation took place outside of the tradition of book illustrations. The case of two ceramic vessels from a twelfth- to thirteenth-century tomb in Inner Mongolia (figure 3.27), for which close counterparts have not been found in Song illustrated books, exposes the limits of this approach.⁸⁷ In addition, problems can occur during the transmission of images in printing. Commonly known issues include misinterpretation of the original images, poor execution in the reprints, or mixing or misidentification of earlier and later editions. These problems could upset the assumed chronological development represented in the reprints and editions.⁸⁸ Instead of sorting through the convoluted process of stylistic appropriation or constructing a stylistic development based on textual studies of illustrated books, Song archaic objects should also be examined in the context in which they were found, such as caches, tombs, or vaults in Buddhist temples. Contextual studies of these objects would allow us to explore the connection between the formal features of these objects and the surroundings in which they existed.

The majority of Song archaic objects came from tombs, especially those of Southern Song literati. With the implementation of new burial practices formulated by literati leaders, such as Sima Guang and Zhu Xi, to exemplify the moral and aesthetic ideals of the literati class, tombs for Song literati since the mid-eleventh century tend to be modestly furnished. The social prestige enjoyed by Song literati during life was demonstrated after death not through a large amount of valuable burial goods but through a few high-quality objets d'art. A good example is found in the tomb of Zhang Min (d. 1071/1072), who came from a family that had produced numerous scholar-officials during the eleventh century, including a prime minister.⁸⁹ Zhang Min himself was awarded several special honors by Song emperors throughout his career as a scholar-official and was once selected to represent the Song emperor at the birthday celebration for the emperor of the Liao dynasty in 1064.⁹⁰

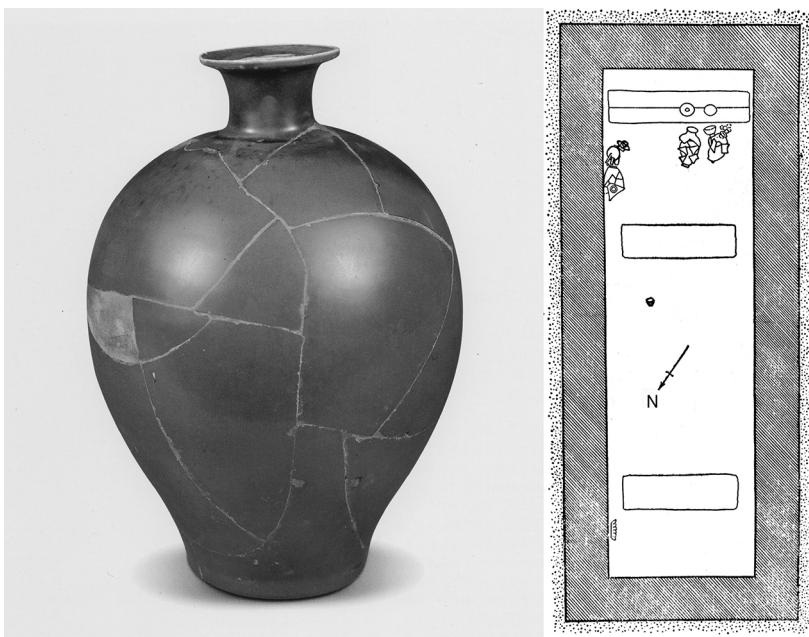
In light of the success in his career and his illustrious family background, Zhang Min's tomb, found in Zhenjiang (in today's Jiangsu), is surprisingly simple. It was constructed within a small rectangular pit, only 1 meter in width and 3.5 meters in length, with brick walls on four sides but no pavement on the bottom (figure 3.28). Both the wooden coffin and the body had completely decomposed by the time that tomb was reopened in 1974. Only Zhang's epitaph and a few ceramic cups and jars remained in the tomb. The ceramic pieces were of a type of highly valued porcelain known as Qingbai



3.27. (left) Pear-shaped vase with impressed archaic decorations. Clay, h. 25.5 cm. (right) Three-legged incense burner with impressed archaic decorations. Clay, h. 9 cm. Lindong, Inner Mongolia. “Zhao meng Balin zuoqi Lindongzhen Jin mu,” plates 1, 2.

ware, literally meaning “bluish white porcelain,” characterized with a subtle bluish tinge in its glaze over a pure white body.⁹¹ The Qingbai ware cups from Zhang’s tomb were adorned with thin strips of gold or silver foil on their rims, which granted them a sense of magnificence without compromising their elegant restraint. In addition, two large urns of Red Ding ware were found in the tomb (see figure 3.28). Red Ding ware was produced at the kilns in Dingzhou (in today’s Hebei) during the Song period.⁹² Appreciated for their luscious reddish dark glaze and refined shape and décor, Red Ding ware pieces were regarded as precious objects in the Northern Song and found in tombs of Song elite.⁹³ The two pieces as a pair from Zhang’s tomb were particularly valuable for their identical size and shape as well as for the equally refined execution of their glazing, for which they are ranked as first-class relics in China’s heritage system.⁹⁴

The structure of tomb constituted important statements of Chinese cosmological beliefs and notions regarding human existence in this world and



3.28. (left) One of the pair of Red Ding urns with dark reddish glaze; h. 23.3 cm from Zhang Min's tomb. Dated 1071–1072. Zhenjiang, Jiangsu. (right) Layout of the tomb. "Zhenjiang shi nanjiao Bei Song Zhang Min mu," 55, plates 4.1, 4.3, figure 1.

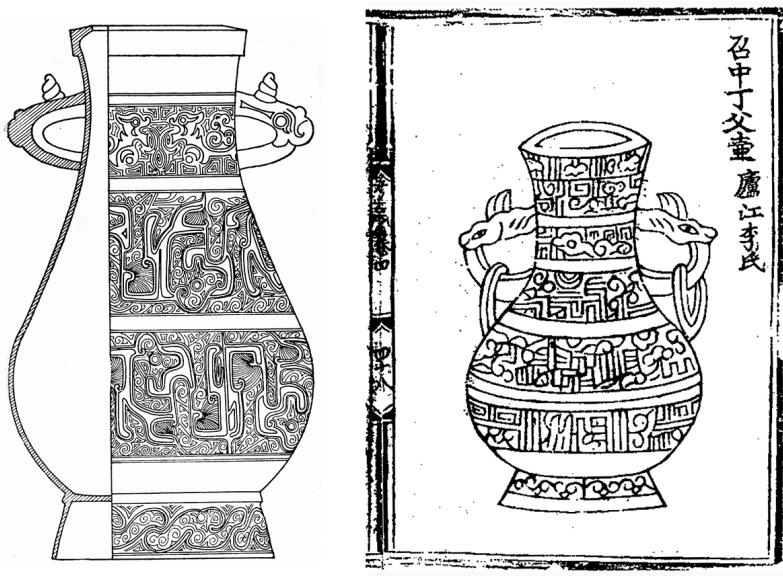
the otherworld. By the Song period, two of the most well-established themes reflected in Chinese tomb design were immortality and the afterlife. Almost every aspect of tomb design—including layout, décor, and furnishing—had been informed by these two concepts.⁹⁵ Zhang Min's tomb deviated greatly from these two conceptual themes, however. The simple, unpaved underground pit of Zhang's tomb does not have any designs related to the themes of immortality and afterlife. The space in the tomb, just large enough to contain the coffin and the epitaph, was not differentiated to suggest any spatial designation for an underground household in the afterlife or an eternal space for immortality. Instead, the few simple yet highly valued objects in the tomb, which demonstrated Zhang's taste for the elegant and refined, transformed the tomb into a showcase for his personal style and aesthetic preference. Instead of a ritualistic statement about immortality, the epitaph gave accounts about the literati tradition in the Zhang family as well as Zhang Min's own career as a worthy court official. The overall presentation of the tomb, including its structure and furnishings, indicated a new development



3.29. Archaistic bronze vessels from Huang Shi's tomb. Late twelfth century. Pingyang, Zhejiang: (left) *Bo*-bell, h. 25.5 cm. (center) One of the pair of *fang*-vases, h. 19.4 cm. (right) Rectangular cauldron, h. 13.5 cm. From Zheng Jiali, "Cong Huang Shi mu tongqi kan Nan Song zhouxian ruxue tongliqi," 351, figures 1–3.

in Song burial tradition. Emerging in the late eleventh century, this development was associated specifically with the literati social class, who began to conceive of the tomb as a space for the demonstration of one's personal traits and cultural identity, rather than as a reflection of conventional beliefs about immortality and the afterlife.⁹⁶

Zhang's tomb did not produce any archaic objects, but it demonstrated a newly developed concept of literati tomb, and its structure provides a necessary context for the discussion of another tomb that belonged to Huang Shi (d. 1175/1176) in Pingyang, Zhejiang.⁹⁷ According to Huang's epitaph from the tomb, Huang was a respected scholar who had taught at various state-sponsored local academies before he was summoned to the court to teach junior members of the imperial family.⁹⁸ Like Zhang's tomb, Huang's displayed the characteristic traits of a literati tomb—it was modest in size and simple in structure. The few objects found in the tomb included a bronze mirror, a few ceramic jars, and a stone seal carved with his name. Also found were four unusual archaic bronze objects, including a *bo*-bell, a cauldron, and a pair of rectangular vases known as *fang* (figure 3.29).⁹⁹ All four bronze objects were fully decorated with motifs commonly found on ancient ritual objects. The bell was decorated with the *kui*-dragon motif on the upper register, the *taotie* animal mask on the lower register, and a swirl motif on the bottom edge. The cauldron was decorated with triangular motifs



3.30. (left) Drawing of the Xuanhua vase with archaic motifs. Mid-twelfth to thirteenth century. Bronze, h. 19 cm. Xuanhua, Hebei. From “Hebei Xuanhua faxian Jin dai jiaocang wenwu,” 1143, figure 4. (right) Drawing of *Zhaozhongdingfu hu*. From Lü Dalin’s *Examining Antiquity Illustrated*, j. 4 (early Ming edition, fifteenth century).

filled in with cloud patterns on the main body, beast heads on top of the legs, and beast paws on the bottom of the legs. The vases were decorated with *lei wen*-square swirls on the neck, intertwining ribbon-like motifs on the main body, and confronting *kui*-dragons on the foot. However, the very stylized features in these ancient motifs suggest features of contemporary Song objects rather than those of actual works from ancient times. A similar decorative scheme is found in a contemporary Song bronze *hu*-vase from a Jin cache in Xuanhua, Hebei (figure 3.30, left).¹⁰⁰

On the one hand, the Xuanhua vase appropriated the shape and elements of an ancient vessel as seen in Lü Dalin’s *Examining Antiquity Illustrated* (figure 3.30, right). On the other hand, it departs from its ancient models by giving contemporary definitions to the archaic motifs—the serpentine ribbons on the body can no longer be understood as intertwining dragons, but as abstract patterns filled with swirls and parallel lines. Another example is found in the shape of the bronze cauldron from Huang’s tomb, which calls to mind a cauldron of Qingbai ware from a Song cache in Dayi, Sichuan



3.31. Qingsbai cauldron with archaic motifs. Mid-twelfth to thirteenth century. Clay with greenish glaze, h. 7 cm. from a Song cache in Dayi, Sichuan. "Sichuan Dayi xian Anren zhen chutu Song dai jiaocang," 91–92. Photograph by author.

(figure 3.31).¹⁰¹ Although the two cauldrons were made of different materials, the former bronze and the latter porcelain, they share specific details in form—both vessels have flattened lips, contracted short necks, rounded lower bellies, and curvy legs topped with animal heads, which project from the side rather than from the bottom of the lower body. The S-curve on the profile of the body and the positions of the legs give the two vessels a contemporary touch that was totally absent in the archaic objects, such as the Zhenghe Cauldron, which were made to imitate their ancient origins.



3.32. *Gui*-bowl with archaic motifs from Du Shiji's tomb. Twelfth century. Stone, h. 8 cm. Qingjiang, Jiangxi. Gu Fang, ed., *Zhongguo chutu yuqi quanji* 9: 95.

The conscientious effort to eschew any direct imitation of ancient forms in favor of a contemporary interpretation shifted the role of antiquity from the goal of emulation for ritual accuracy to a point of departure for aesthetic imagination. It seems logical to associate Huang Shi's placing archaic bronze objects in his tomb with the ancient practice of placing bronze ritual vessels in a tomb as part of a burial program guided by the beliefs of the afterlife.¹⁰² However, we should be cautious not to see this association as more than a token nod to the ancient mortuary practice, since representations of other critical notions about the afterlife were absent in the tomb. Nonetheless, it is important to recognize the way in which these archaic bronzes served as a backdrop for tomb occupants, like Huang Shi, to display their elite statue in a ritual setting.

A similar use of archaic objects for aesthetic expression is demonstrated by the tomb of Du Shiji (d. 1159), a midlevel official in the early Southern Song, which produced a unique stone sculpture in the shape of a *gui*-bowl decorated with a band of antiquity-inspired patterns (figure 3.32).¹⁰³ The texture of the stone, hard yet smooth to the touch, luminous with

lustrous white, displayed the characteristics often associated with carvings of white jade from the Han period (206 BCE–220 CE). The stone bowl was found together with an antique mirror from the Tang and an ink stone made of a type of rock known as chicken liver rock (*jiganshi*) for its purplish red color. These items belong to a group of objects discussed in a guidebook on taste and connoisseurship written by Zhao Xigu (1170–1242), titled *The Pure Registers of the Cavern Heaven* (*Dongtian qinglu*), which included antiques, things of archaic form, fantastic rocks, studio paraphernalia, and works of painting and calligraphy.¹⁰⁴ The combination of all these categories, represented by the objects found in Du's tomb, would become a standard formula for the expression of literati taste in future centuries.

POPULARIZING ANTIQUITY IN SONG MATERIAL CULTURE

Archaistic objects became increasingly popular during the Southern Song. Some scholars suggested that their popularity was initiated by the implementation of new ritual practices resulting from Huizong's ritual reforms.¹⁰⁵ Others suggested that the incorporation of archaic objects, especially incense burners, in the practices of Buddhism and Daoism contributed to the further spread of archaic objects to non-state-sponsored ritual contexts.¹⁰⁶ By the mid-thirteenth century, archaic objects of various kinds were produced in large quantity by commercial manufacturers and distributed via market functions to meet the demands of all segments of society. This is well supported by archaeological findings in recent decades, especially the caches discovered in Sichuan, where hundreds of archaic objects in bronze, earthenware, silver, gold, and stone were found.¹⁰⁷ One of these caches, found in Suining in 1991, produced a large amount of different types of archaic objects, the majority of which were porcelains of white or greenish glaze from Longquan (in today's Zhejiang) and Jingdezhen (in today's Jiangxi). As centers for commercial production of porcelains during the thirteenth century, these two cities supplied high-quality archaic objects to domestic and overseas markets.¹⁰⁸

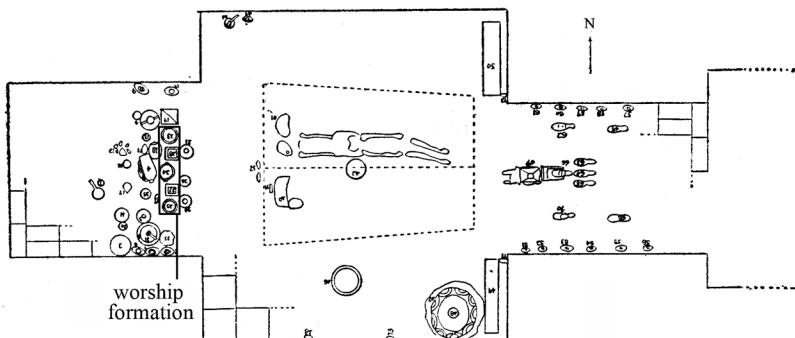
Judging from the extremely large quantity of goods found in the Suining cache, which was too large to have come from a single or even several households, scholars have suggested that the cache belonged to a local trading agency that imported goods to Sichuan from southeast China, where most of the items were originally produced. An inscription found in the cache, which named a local business, seems to support the hypothesis.¹⁰⁹ The



3.33. *Gui*-bowl incense burner from Yan Deyuan's tomb. Dated 1190. Stone, h. 14 cm. Datong, Shanxi. "Datong Jin dai Yan Deyuan mu," 12, figure 38.

makeshift condition of the cache, simply an underground pit without any supporting structure, indicates that the cache may have been a hasty measure to avoid plundering by Mongolian armies during their invasions in the 1230s and 1240s. Despite the severe damage of the pit, the objects in the Suining cache were preserved in surprisingly good condition. The majority of the objects were celadon from the Longquan kilns and Qingbai ware from the Jingdezhen kilns. Based on the consistent appearance in glazing, coloration, and the making of clay bodies, it is likely that these objects were produced in the same period, likely during the early to mid-thirteenth century, by one or a few closely related kilns in Longquan and Jingdezhen.

Two major types of archaic objects were found in the Suining cache. The first type is a low vessel with a wide opening and a straight or round body elevated by three legs or a ring-foot. The forms of these low vessels include the *ding*-cauldron and *li*-cauldron and *gui*-bowl types of ancient ritual vessels. These low vessels can be further divided into two groups in terms of their sizes: large ones measuring more than 15 centimeters in height or diameter, and miniature ones measuring less than 10 centimeters in height. Although the differentiation in size is clear, there is no apparent connection between form and size; a given form could appear in both large size and miniature. Archaeological evidence from tombs of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries have demonstrated that, regardless of their forms and materials, the large low vessels were used as incense burners for worship.¹¹⁰

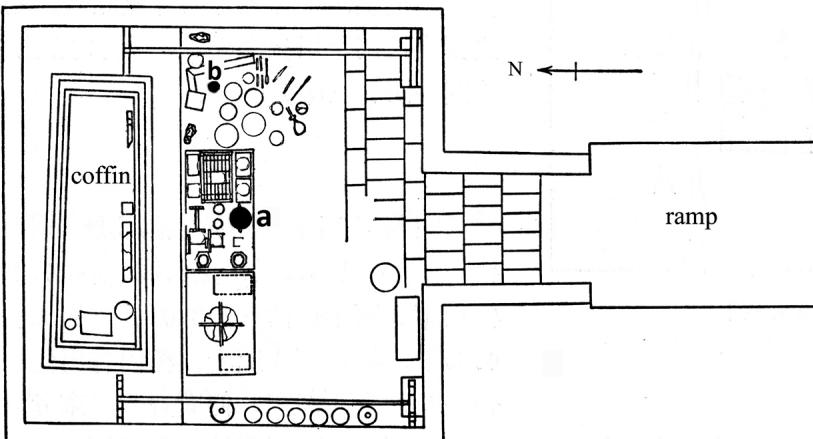


3.34. Tomb layout and location of ritual vessels in their original worship formation in Duan Jirong's tomb. Dated 1266. Xi'an, Shaanxi. "Xi'an Qujiang Chixicun Yuan mu qingli jianbao," 58, figure 5.

For example, in a tomb dated to 1190, a large stone *gui*-bowl, decorated with archaic motifs, sat among other objects on an altar table (figure 3.33).¹¹¹

Preserved in its original condition, this stone vessel was found containing ashes, indicating it had been used for worship. Another tomb in Xi'an, dated to 1266, yielded three large ceramic incense burners of different types (one *ding*-cauldron and two *li*-cauldrons), placed together with two *fang*-vases.¹¹² These ceramic vessels maintained their original formation on an altar, and all of the incense burners had ashes inside, indicating they had also been used for worship (figure 3.34). In addition to the large incense burners, small archaic vessels were found in tombs—however, in a different ritualistic setting. In the 1190 tomb a miniature cauldron was found among studio paraphernalia near a smaller table that must have supported the objects before it collapsed (figure 3.35).¹¹³ Because of the damage, we can't know for sure what the contextual relation was between this miniature and the other objects on the table. However, the fact that the large vessel was placed on an altar table and used as an incense burner, while a miniature counterpart was found with other studio paraphernalia, is rather intriguing.

The tie between miniature archaic vessels and a scholar's studio can be clearly demonstrated by examples from literati tombs. The miniature stone *gui*-bowl in Du Shiji's tomb, only 8 centimeters in height, was found among studio utensils or collectables. A miniature cauldron of Longquan celadon was found in the tomb of literati calligrapher Xianyu Shu (1257–1302), a collector



3.35. Tomb layout and positions of the large (a) and miniature (b) incense burners in Yan Deyuan's tomb. Dated 1190. Datong, Shanxi. "Datong Jin dai Yan Deyuan mu fajue jianbo," figure 2.

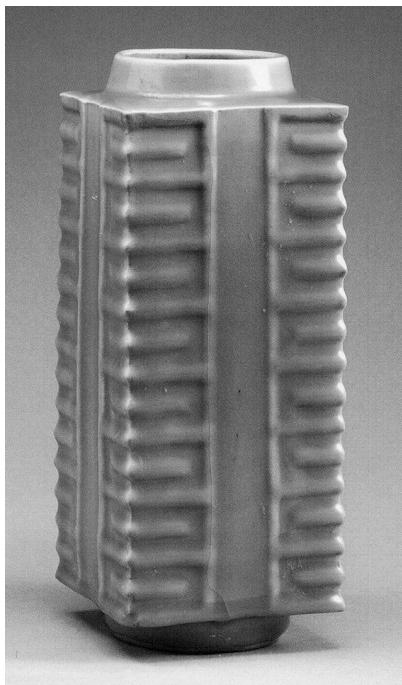
during the late Southern Song and early Yuan period. The miniature Longquan piece was found along with objects from Xianyu's studio, including three writing brushes (all decomposed, except for the jade fittings), a Duan ink-stone, two jade paper weights, two pieces of jade ornaments from the Jin and Tang periods, a Tang mirror, and two bronze stamps cast with his names, which Xianyu used to declare the ownership of his antique collection and the authorship of his own calligraphic works.¹¹⁴ The combination of miniature incense burner, antiques, and studio paraphernalia is also depicted in Song contemporary painting as essential facilities in an intellectually charged environment.¹¹⁵ In light of the connections between large incense burners and altars, and between miniatures and literati studios, it seems reasonable to assume the large and miniature incense burners found in the Suining cache were intended for different settings—the large ones for a religious setting, and the miniatures for a secular setting. Their exceptional quality and their large number also indicates that the incense burners were likely to be high-end merchandise for elite consumers, not intended only for burial.

The second category of archaic objects found in the Suining cache is vases with a ring-foot. Long-neck vases with a narrow opening and bulging lower body are the most common. Some of the vases also have an outstretched lip. In terms of appendages or decoration, some have two tubular ears on the upper part of the neck, while others are decorated with bowstring



3.36. Longquan celadon vases from a cache in Suining, Sichuan. Dateable to the mid-thirteenth century. Clay with green glaze. (left) Long-neck vase with bowstring motifs, h. 31.2 cm. (right) Long-neck vase with tubular ears, h. 16.7 cm. "Sichuan Suining Jin-yucun," 20, figures 47, 48.

motifs on the neck (figure 3.36). Rectangular vases known as *cong*-vases, after the shape of a Neolithic *cong*-jade tube, were also found (figure 3.37).¹¹⁶ Although these vases have different forms, they shared the functions of holding flowers or plant branches or purifying water.¹¹⁷ A common Buddhist practice, well-illustrated since the tenth century, showed that two vases and an incense burner were often placed together as an altar set (figure 3.38).¹¹⁸ In the 1266 tomb discussed earlier, we see a similar but more elaborate altar set, in which two fairly large *fang*-vases and three *li*-incense burners, all ceramic, were lined up in a symmetrical arrangement with a large incense burner at the center. The location of this altar set, at the head of the deceased instead of the feet as in most tombs, indicates that the deceased was not the recipient but the performer of the worship. The position also points to the objects' ritualistic nature and thus confirms the correlation between size and ritual functionality.¹¹⁹ In the case of Xianyu Shu's tomb, two miniature celadon vases with tubular ears were found together with the miniature



3.37. Cong-vases from a cache in Suining, Sichuan. Datable to the mid-thirteenth century. (left) Longquan *cong*-vase, clay with green glaze, h. 27 cm. (right) Pair of stone *cong*-vases with water wave patterns, h. 17 cm. "Sichuan Suining Jinyucun Nan Song jiaocang" 7, 11, figures 5, 26.

Longquan cauldron and other studio objects. This combination of miniature objects presented an intriguing parallel between archaic objects in a religious context and those in a secular context, which suggested a functional differentiation based on size.¹²⁰

Archaistic vases were also used in household settings. An example comes from Xu Jun's tomb, where a silver vase was found containing a spoon and a pair of chopsticks.¹²¹ The vase has a pear-shaped body that is stouter than a regular long-neck vase and was decorated with the bowstring motif commonly seen on an archaic vase, clearly modeled after the *Fuyi you*-vase in Lü Dalin's *Examining Antiquity Illustrated* (figure 3.39). Slightly earlier examples of similar vases were found in silver, bronze, and glazed ceramic (figure 3.40).¹²² These earlier examples were found in multiple numbers, apparently part of a large set of utensils including chopsticks, spoons, bowls, and cups.

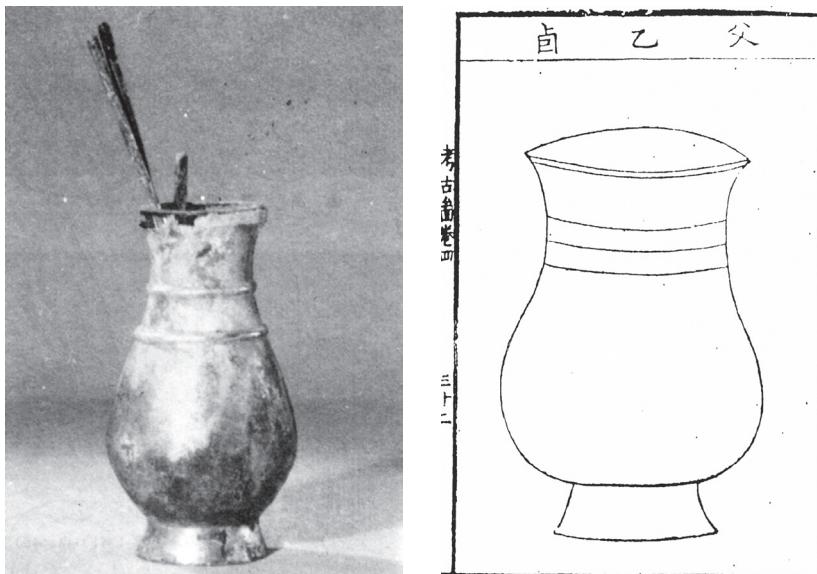
The functions in religious rituals and everyday activities help to explain the production of certain archaic types. Among the full range of ancient objects illustrated in antiquarian texts, such as Lü Dalin's *Examining Antiquity Illustrated* and Emperor Huizong's commission, *Xuanhe Erudite*



3.38. Frontispiece of the *Diamond Sutra* from Dunhuang Cave 17. Early tenth century. Ink and color on paper, h. 14.2 cm. British Museum, London.

Antiquity Illustrated, only a few vessel types were produced commercially, as demonstrated by the findings in the Suining cache. *Ding*-cauldrons and *li*-cauldrons as well as *gui*-bowls were frequently produced as incense burners; vertical vessels, such as *hu*, *gu*, and *cong*, were often made as vases or bottles to be used at altars or dining tables. Despite the categories earlier Song antiquarians had carefully established, these archaic objects were fused into two large miscellaneous groups, not defined by their formal features or ritual symbolism but by their practical functionality.¹²³ Those ancient categories, such as the *yan*-double steamer or *jue*-goblet, which could not easily fit in the categories of incense burners or vases, would only be adopted in the making of archaic objects for their symbolism in Chinese antiquity. Examples of such objects can be found in a cache in Pengzhou, where archaic *yan*-double steamers demonstrated a strong affinity to ancient models but were devoid of practical functionality.¹²⁴

In some cases ancient forms were greatly modified to generate new forms suited for contemporary use and taste, such as the long-neck vase type, which was modified from ancient *hu*-vases by removing the lid and handles. In other cases, certain categories that had previously been on the margin of the discourse were brought to the center of commercial production for their functional or aesthetic appeal. For example, the form of a



3.39. (left) Vase with bowstring motifs from Xu Jun's tomb. Dated 1272. Silver, h. 14.5 cm. Fuzhou, Fujian. "Fuzhou Chayuanshan Nan Song Xu Jun mu," 26, figure 11. (right) *Fuyiyou* vase from Lü Dalin's *Examining Antiquity Illustrated*, j. 4 (Zheng Pu edition, 1600).

warming bottle (*wenhu*), a type of wine vessel from the Qin-Han period commonly known today as the “garlic bottle” for its unique shape, was regarded as inferior by the authority for not resonating with the qualities of high antiquity from the Shang-Zhou period (figure 3.41).¹²⁵ Nonetheless, examples of this vessel type were found in various places, including a pair of such bottles along with more than a dozen other archaic bronzes in a cache in Guang'an, Sichuan, and two more, in bronze and Longquan celadon, among the trade goods retrieved from the Sinan shipwreck.¹²⁶

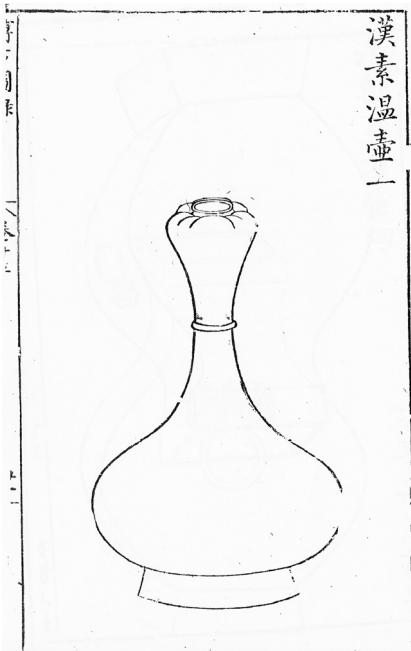
Despite the negative view held by the imperial court, archaic bottles of this type were still produced by various private commercial venues, likely encouraged by demand from both the domestic and overseas markets.¹²⁷ The freedom to deviate from a set of prescribed values is also found in the adaption of ancient decorative motifs in the production of archaic objects during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as demonstrated by the 1168 vase and by the Moss vase, both of which combine archaic patterns with contemporary motifs. A silver ewer from a storage cache in Pengzhou, Sichuan, dated to the mid-thirteenth century, illustrated an extreme case of such adaption (figure 3.42).¹²⁸ The surface of the ewer



3.40. Small *hu*-vases of similar form and size but in various materials. (left) Silver, h. 15.2 cm. "Chengdu shi Pengzhou Song dai jinyinqi jiaocang," 9, figure 10. (center) Bronze, h. 14.8 cm. "Jiangyou xian faxian Song dai jiaocang," 64, figure 6. (right) Clay with dark green glaze, h. 15 cm. From "Sichuan Dayi xian Anren zhen chutu Song dai jiaocang," 93, figure 10.

was covered with two rows of the “cicada” motifs commonly seen in the Shang-Zhou period. However, this modified ancient motif was simplified and reduced to triangles filled with zoomorphic faces made of twisting patterns. The mutated cicada motif alternates with rows of intertwining dragons and swirling clouds, forming a visually striking surface. The vessel type of a ewer adorned with archaic motifs was known in China as the “barbarian ewer” (*hu ping*), which had its origin in Central Asia.¹²⁹

To push the contrast between the classical and the exotic even further, the ewer was topped with a freestanding elephant on a lotus flower. There were indeed Shang-Zhou bronze objects known in the Song that had elephant motifs in their form or decoration, as demonstrated by the entry of Zhou Elephant Ewer (Zhou Xiang zun) in *Xuanhe Erudite Antiquity Illustrated*.¹³⁰ The decorative motif of a freestanding elephant was likely to have come from the drawing of Elephant Vase (Xiang zun) in Lü Dalin's *Examining Antiquity Illustrated* (see figure 3.42), which shows a naturalistically rendered elephant standing on top of a Han-style vase decorated with bowstring motifs and zoomorphic ring-handles.¹³¹ The entry in the catalogue linked the vase directly to the classical ritual text *Zhou Offices*, which prescribed the use of vessels with an elephant theme for spring and summer offerings. The entry pointed out the discrepancies between earlier textual



3.41. Plain warming bottle of Han (*Han su wengu*). From *Xuanhe Erudite Antiquity Illustrated*, j. 13 (Siku edition, 1782).



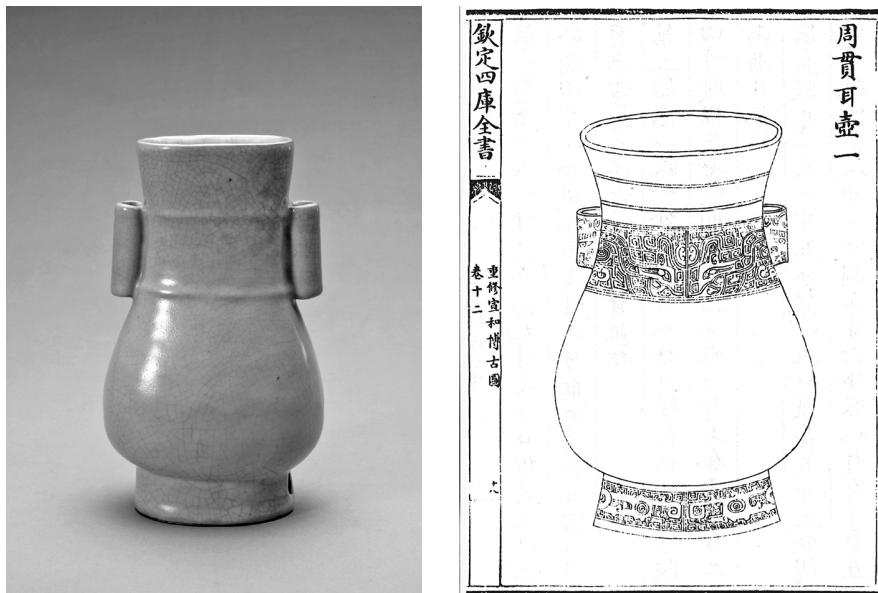
3.42. (left) Elephant Ewer decorated with archaic motifs. Late thirteenth century, from a Southern Song cache in Pengzhou, Sichuan. Silver, h. 31.6 cm. From Pengzhou shi bowuguan, "Chengdu shi Pengzhou Song dai jinyiqi jiaocang," 11, figure 16.2.
 (right) Elephant Vase (*xiang zun*). From Lü Dalin's *Examining Antiquity Illustrated*, j. 4 (Zheng Pu edition, 1600).

depictions of such ritual vessels and the example found in the Song, which implied the authenticity of an actual specimen over some random conjectures. In the Pengzhou elephant ewer, the authentic elephant form was transplanted from a classical ritual vessel to an exotic silver bottle accented with archaic motifs and Buddhist symbols.

CONCLUSION

The separation of archaic forms and motifs from prescribed ritual symbolism in the commercially produced archaic objects announced a full integration of antiquity into the popular visual and material culture in the later period of the Song dynasty. Ancient forms and motifs were adopted freely in whole or in part, in their original or modified formats, in religious or secular contexts, and in combination with forms and motifs from other sources. Perhaps the most critical force that enabled this total popularization of archaism was the commercialized production of archaic objects—a process initiated by the Southern Song court in the mid-twelfth century. After having fled from the devastating Jin invasion of the Song capital in 1127, the few surviving members of the court settled in the south and realized that they had lost almost everything. The Jin armies had carted away the entire imperial collection of ancient bronzes, all the reform vessels, including the Dasheng Bells, and Emperor Huizong himself, who lived in captivity for nearly a decade before his lonely death in 1135.¹³² Without proper ritual vessels, the new emperor Gaozong (r. 1127–1162) had to perform state ceremonies to declare his mandate using vessels made of ceramic, wood, and bamboo.¹³³

These makeshift ritual vessels were problematic, not only because of their inferior materials but also because of their incorrect forms. The narrowly escaped Song court had lost the imperial catalogue during the flight and had no access to any authentic information about ancient ritual vessels. When the Song court finally retrieved a copy of the imperial catalogue in 1142–43, the emperor immediately ordered the remaking of all ritual vessels by local pottery kilns in Longquan following the correct forms preserved in the catalogue. Examples of surviving archaic celadon from the Southern Song, such as the *hu*-vase with tubular ears in the Palace Museum, Beijing, indeed confirm the close connection between archaic vessels made by the Southern Song court and the drawings from the imperial catalogue (figure 3.43). Out of the necessity of using local facilities and the lack



3.43. (left) *Hu*-vase with tubular ears. Guan ware celadon, h. 23 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing. (right) Vase with tubular ears of Zhou (*Zhou guaner hu*). From *Xuanhe Erudite Antiquity Illustrated*, j. 12 (Siku edition, 1782).

of raw material for bronze casting, Gaozong's court had already accepted porcelain and celadon, the industries of which had a long tradition in the south, as proper materials for making state ritual vessels. By 1146, when the Song court was ready to perform the grand sacrificial ceremony to heaven at the Southern Altar outside of the new capital Lin'an (in today's Hangzhou, Zhejiang), all the necessary ritual objects had been remade in authentic ancient forms by the best local pottery workshops. Before the Song court finally established its Official Kiln (*Guanyao*) in 1149, the imperial agency that produced porcelains exclusively for the court, the production of ritual vessels was executed by local commercial workshops that also produced for the general market.¹³⁴

The archaic objects commissioned by the imperial court therefore had a direct impact on the trends in the general market through the manufacturers who produced for both. Through this process, archaic forms and motifs were released from a highly regulated ritual setting to a wide range of different contexts, including Buddhist or Daoist worship, daily household, personal studio, even burial space, as basic elements to be used for

cultural or visual production appropriate to any purpose. Archaistic objects had been upheld as political symbols by Huizong in his effort to reenact ancient rites and as cultural emblems for the members of literati class like Yu Gongzhu who used ancient images to establish their cultural identity. As a result of the broader integration in the Southern Song, the power of archaic imagery that had been monopolized by elites began to transform into an integral part of the popular culture.

CONCLUSION

The Legacy of the Song Antiquarian Movement

THROUGH A PROCESS OF SELECTION AND TRANSFORMATION, objects from the past were assembled and brought to the imperial court and into private homes in the Song period as valued objects of reverence, study, and appreciation. Through this process, ancient objects acquired a renewed collective identity as relics or icons. In the case of ancient inscriptions, an inventive materiality in the form of a rubbing was obtained, allowing modes of engagement not possible in their original condition. Collections of objects prompted the production of antiquarian writings. In addition to describing details, these writings also elucidated objects' historical and ritual significance in the context of particular ideologies. Ideological stances on the interpretation of objects were greatly informed by the multiple social roles of individual Song antiquaries. Images of ancient objects were reproduced, borrowed, or appropriated for various contemporary needs as Song society grew increasingly diverse. While members of the court and the literati class used actual ancient objects as models to create goods for their specific needs, commercialized mass production contributed to the circulation of ancient imagery beyond elite circles and into Song society at large.

A quintessential feature of the Song antiquarian movement is its use of objects from the past. The critical role these objects played marks the distinctive departure of the Song antiquarian movement from all previous ones that advocated the revival of antiquity. In prior movements of antique revival, admirers of the past relied on ancient texts to formulate the theoretical foundation of their arguments. While continuing this tradition, the Song antiquarian movement used both objects and texts, rather than texts

alone, as the basis of its inquiries. As we have seen in the examples of Ouyang Xiu, Li Gonglin, Lü Dalin, and Dong You, Song antiquaries derived evidence for their interpretation of antiquity from ancient objects and from cross-examination of that evidence with related texts, instead of from speculation about events in the past or ancient rituals based solely on canonical texts and historical literature.

As a cultural phenomenon that encompassed a large part of society and a broad range of materials, the Song antiquarian movement included different approaches to the past. Although sharing a common goal to revive antiquity, these approaches were dissimilar in their beliefs, methods, and materials. The two most important focal points were ritual and history. In the ritual approach, antiquity was considered the origin of ideal social institutions regulated by proper practice as established by ancient sages and prescribed in ancient canons. In the historical approach, antiquity was seen as a source for exemplary human behavior represented in carefully measured narratives from ancient times. Although these approaches were in theory complementary, tension could arise if they were used to justify different positions in policies. We see this tension most strongly demonstrated in the partisan conflict between the New Party led by Wang Anshi (1021–1086) and the Old Party led by Sima Guang (1019–1086), who in the late eleventh century debated fiercely the proper ways of governance.¹

With an unyielding faith in the ideal society represented through a structure prescribed in the ritual canon *Zhou Offices* (*Zhou Guan*, also known as *Zhou Rites* [*Zhou li*], first century BCE), the New Party believed that society could be improved with a thorough reconstruction modeled on the ideal world as depicted in the ancient canon. Leaders of the Old Party, including Ouyang, believed that instead of imitating the social and ritual institutions of ancient times, what one should learn from antiquity was the moral principles of the ancients, especially those of sage-rulers, worthy officials, and noble martyrs, which were best exemplified in such historical accounts as the *Spring and Autumn Annals*. To a large degree, the contrast between the ritual and historical approaches to antiquity was part of the greater philosophical debate between the Old and New Parties and the opposition between the state-centered, top-down approach of ritual reform versus a system that depended primarily on the moral authority of individuals, especially the ruler and his learned officials, operating within the state and society.

ANTIQUITY AS A SOURCE OF HISTORICAL AUTHENTICITY

Although it is fairly certain that the Song antiquarian movement had its origins in the activities of particular antiquaries, such as Ouyang and Liu Chang, who began to collect ancient objects and publicized their collections in the mid-eleventh century, an overview that explains how the movement became a widespread cultural phenomenon in Song society has yet to be constructed. Two separate but related historical developments were instrumental in broadening participation of the movement from small groups of social elites to a wider range of society. Taking place in the same intellectual and cultural climate, these two sets of historical developments were prompted by very different ideological premises and involved different kinds of antiquarian materials. These differences were ultimately responsible for the diverse nature of the movement.

The first development was closely linked to Ouyang and his circle of friends. Examination of Ouyang's collection, *Records of Collecting Antiquity*, indicates that Ouyang's friends had made ample contributions to his innovative collection of ancient materials, even though the collection bore only his name. The best known example of the collaboration between Ouyang and his circle was perhaps the entry of the Jin Jiang Cauldron discussed in chapter 1. The bronze inscription of the vessel was given to Ouyang by Liu Chang, a pioneering Song antiquary in his own right, who contributed at least nine other inscriptions to Ouyang's collection.² Other contributors to Ouyang's collection include Song Qi (998–1061), Jiang Xiufu (1005–1060), Yang Nanzhong (fl. early to mid-eleventh century), Wen Tong (1018–1079), Xie Jingchu (fl. mid-eleventh century), and Su Shi (1037–1101).³ The collaboration between Ouyang and members of his circle suggests that the practice of collecting rubbings of ancient inscriptions represented an intellectual current in the mid- to late eleventh century that was shared among Song literati who had a special interest in antiquity. The most significant agenda in Ouyang's interest in antiquity was to recover authenticity in history. For Ouyang, ancient inscriptions represented a repository of historical documents, the authenticity of which was beyond question. Because of this, these traces of the past could be used to rectify problems in historical texts and commentaries received from previous generations—a task that Ouyang undertook repeatedly in his colophons on ancient inscriptions in his collection. His belief in antiquity as a source of historical truth was echoed by Liu Chang,

who believed that an antiquary should rectify the mistakes in the transmitted history by cross-examining that history against ancient inscriptions.⁴

This intellectual current with a focus on the historical value of ancient materials continued to be represented in the twelfth century, most notably by Zhao Mingcheng (1081–1129), author of *Records of Metal and Stone* (*Jinshi lu*, postscript by Li Qingzhao [1084–after 1155] dating to 1132), whose abundant faith in the historical authenticity of ancient materials was clearly stated in the preface to his book: “[Historical texts] have been transmitted from long ago. They were supposed to be reliable. However, when we examine the date, place, official title, and lineage [in historical texts] against [inscriptions on] bronzes and stelae, differences [between these two sources] often occur in three or four out of ten cases. This is because historical texts were composed by later people, who were thus unable to avoid mistakes. But inscriptions were established contemporaneously, and thus can be trusted without doubt.”⁵

The inclusion of ancient bronze inscriptions in Ouyang’s *Records of Collecting Antiquity* with the help of Liu Chang in the early 1060s was particularly meaningful for the development of this historical approach. Their incorporation greatly expanded the repertoire of material through which Ouyang and his friends exercised their pursuit of historical authenticity in antiquity. Ample examples that demonstrate the use of ancient bronze inscriptions to resolve problems in historical writings and commentaries composed in later times can be found throughout the texts by Ouyang, Liu, and other antiquaries. The inclusion of ancient bronze inscriptions was facilitated by the application of rubbing techniques, known to have occurred for the first time in the context of Song Emperor Renzong’s (r. 1022–1063) inspection of ancient bronzes in 1051.

Unlike most stone inscriptions, which were highly visible on the stone face for public display, bronze inscriptions were often cast in the interiors of vessels so that, with only few exceptions, they were hidden from view. The application of rubbing techniques directly to ancient bronze inscriptions made these often inconspicuous inscriptions available to Song antiquaries by transporting them from inside a bronze vessel onto paper with ink. The rubbing technique enabled ancient bronze inscriptions to be easily collected and studied, just like stone inscriptions. The use of both bronze and stone inscriptions in Ouyang’s collection established a paradigm for the antiquarian movement, which marked the beginning of the association of these two media. The association was eventually used to characterize

Chinese antiquarian scholarship in general as studies of “metal and stone” (*jinshi xue*).

The use of rubbings instead of actual ancient objects in the pursuit of historical authenticity is a significant feature of Song antiquarianism. It seems peculiar that Ouyang actually considered a rubbing to be *more* authentic than an ancient object itself, even though a rubbing renders only the inscription of an object rather than its overall materiality. The preference for rubbings in Ouyang’s pursuit of authentic history pertains to the capacity of a rubbing to capture both the content of an ancient inscription and the relationship between the inscription and the object that bears it. Although the text of an ancient inscription was the primary material with which Ouyang and his fellow Song antiquaries reconstructed their view of authentic history, the authority of the text as genuine material for authentic history derived from the fact that the inscription was borne on an object from the ancient past.

It was this intimate connection between an inscription and its ancient bearer that granted the inscriptive text its esteemed value in the antiquary’s effort to correct later historical writings and commentaries. In other words, the physical union between an inscriptive text and an ancient object authenticated the text’s historical value. The process of making a rubbing involves the direct contact of its paper with the carved surface of an object to register the textual content of the inscription borne on the object. Because of this, a rubbing attests to the physical union of text and object through ink marks and relief imprints left on paper. For historically minded Song antiquaries like Ouyang, a rubbing was therefore an ideal medium because of its ability to preserve the nexus of text and material in its representation of an inscription. In addition, the easily portable and reproducible format of a rubbing greatly stimulated the circulation of ancient inscriptions among antiquaries, thereby facilitating a wide discourse on antiquity—a critical feature of the burgeoning antiquarian movement.

The widespread faith in antiquity as a source of cultural authority among Song literati was related to a fundamental change in the intellectual climate that took place in the second half of the eleventh century. The revival of archaic writing (*guwen*) advocated by Ouyang during the mid-eleventh century produced a new generation of literati who on the one hand revered antiquity as the ultimate source of political and moral ideals, and on the other hand yielded to no authority without critical examination. Ouyang’s vision of an archaic writing revival continued the call for a return to “the

original way” by Han Yu (768–824) by restoring the original teachings of the ancient sages. In Ouyang’s engagement with ancient objects, we have indeed discovered a rigorous drive for what was critically proven to be authentic and original, a principle consistent with the core values of the literary revival. It is therefore understandable that the first generation of Song literati trained in this new intellectual climate was also the first group to broaden the antiquarian tradition initiated by Ouyang and his circle of friends. As the revival of archaic writing achieved complete success in the second half of the eleventh century, eventually becoming an established convention of the civil service examination system that determined the professional lives of aspiring literati, so was the antiquarian tradition enthusiastically embraced by Song literati to demonstrate their competency in elite cultural practices.

ANTIQUITY AS IDEALIZED SOCIETY

While the antiquarian interest in ancient inscriptions became widespread among Song literati, an interest in different aspects of ancient objects emerged at the Song court. The objects involved in this particular branch of interest were primarily ritual bronzes, especially those that had been used during the sacrificial offerings to Heaven and Earth performed by ancient emperors, such as *zhong*-bells and *ding*-cauldrons. Unlike the interest in ancient inscriptions as sources of authentic history, which initiated an urge to recover and preserve the historical value of objects, the interest in ancient ritual objects developed out of a search for the proper paraphernalia with which to conduct state rites. This search was initiated in the Song as part of the reform of state rites in the mid-eleventh century. During the reign of Emperor Renzong, ancient ritual bells were used as models to produce proper instruments for ritual music. Although the reform under Renzong proved to be futile, with the result that ritual music remained a problem for the Song court, the reform under Renzong triggered a broader inquiry into ancient ritual vessels in their own right. The shift of focus from ritual to ritual objects was exemplified by the celebrated imperial inspection of ancient bronzes undertaken in 1051.

During the inspection the emperor was accompanied by groups of officials and court scholars who engaged in an intensive discussion regarding the interpretation of the ancient bronzes’ form and décor and the meaning of their inscriptions. As a result of the expansion of interest to include both

rituals and paraphernalia, ancient bronzes began to be valued for their significance in ritual practices by antiquaries. Instead of noting only inscriptions, those who were interested in the symbolism of ancient rituals manifested through the form and décor of ancient objects paid special attention to the visual characteristics of ancient ritual bronzes. This newfound interest led to the production of studies of bronzes that primarily took the form of illustrated catalogues to provide access to the visual features of ancient objects for their readers.

Liu Chang, Li Gonglin, and other Song antiquaries advocated the collection of ancient objects in their entirety, not just inscriptions on bronze ritual vessels mediated through rubbings. Under their influence, Song literati assembled private collections of ancient ritual bronzes during the last quarter of the eleventh century. To a great extent, this development was due to the effort made by Liu Chang to publicize his own antique collection through a catalogue containing descriptions and pictorial images of every item. Separate from their original ritual context, Shang-Zhou ritual bronzes had been perceived as auspicious treasures since as early as the second century BCE, but Liu Chang was the first Song antiquary to make his collection available to the general public through publication. Following Liu's example, Li Gonglin extended his collection in quantity and variety to include a broad range of ancient artifacts beyond Shang-Zhou ritual bronzes, especially daily utensils from the Qin-Han period. Many of these later objects, considered outside the realm of sacred state ritual by the Song imperial court, became templates for archaic appropriation for general consumption during the Southern Song. Li applied his artistic sensibility to the form and decoration of objects in his collection, setting precedents for the nomenclature of ancient objects as well as models of illustrations for circulation. The impressive list of private collectors and the variety of ancient objects recorded in Lü Dalin's *Examining Antiquity Illustrated* (preface 1092) attests to the popular and rigorous endeavor of collecting antiquity among the Song high elite at the end of the eleventh century.

The attention to the full materiality of ancient objects, including form, décor, and function, was a critical feature of the trend within the antiquarian movement that emphasized the ritual significance of ancient objects. Especially interested in ancient ritual, Song antiquaries believed that the significance of an ancient ritual object resided not only in texts but also in its formal features and function. Ancient ritual canons, such as the *Zhou Offices*, which offered abundant interpretations of the decorative motifs and actual

functions of paraphernalia, were often cited during the Song to support this view. In fact, matching ancient ritual objects with passages from canonical texts to support interpretations of ritual significance became a common practice in the effort to understand antiquity. Li Gonglin was among the first in the eleventh century to apply this methodology in decoding the decorative motifs on ancient bronzes. His interpretation of the zoomorphic motif known as *taotie* was adopted as an official interpretation for the catalogue of the imperial collection, titled *Xuanhe Erudite Antiquity Illustrated* (dated to the early 1120s).

The development of interest in the ritual significance of ancient objects owed much to the support of the Song court, especially that of Emperor Huizong (r. 1101–1125), who expanded the imperial collection to a degree unthinkable before his time. Like his great-grandfather Emperor Renzong, Huizong's interest in ancient bronzes stemmed from an urge to reform state rites. The imperial catalogue for Huizong's collection demonstrates a view of antiquity very much guided by a brand of political idealism prescribed in *Zhou Offices*, which offered an idealized portrait of ritualized political institutions of antiquity.⁶ Under the influence of this political idealism, ancient bronze objects were charged with political symbolism and were critical in reconstructing the ideal world of antiquity characterized by ancient rituals proscribed in *Zhou Offices*. It was important for Huizong to collect ancient bronzes in a comprehensive manner, because conceptually every ancient object would have played a role in this ideal world. Huizong's desire to materialize his vision of idealized political institutions through collecting ancient bronzes is mirrored in his desire to materialize his vision of a perfect world for human dwelling through collecting auspicious rocks, rare plants, and exotic animals for his imperial park, the Northeastern Marchmount (Genyue).⁷ To view the Song imperial collection of ancient objects in the context of the emperor's idealized constructions certainly generates further understanding of the notion of antiquity held by the highest stratum of Song society.⁸

THE LEGACY OF SONG ANTIQUARIANISM

Through the development of antiquarian studies and practices during the eleventh and early twelfth centuries, the previous reverence for antiquity, deep-rooted in Chinese culture, acquired a new theoretical, methodological, and material foundation. The Dasheng Bells cast under the supervision

of Huizong fully demonstrate the establishment of these fresh foundations. The bells were cast in imitation of a group of ancient bells from before the fifth century BCE that was discovered during the height of the comprehensive reform of state rites initiated during Huizong's reign. The casting of the bells, immediately considered an overwhelming success, indicates the maturation of a theoretical connection between ancient ritual vessels and Song state ritual validated through the ideological interpretations of the ritual canon *Zhou Offices*. The successful appropriation of the ancient form suggests an extensive and sophisticated knowledge about ancient ritual bronzes during this period, which was certainly a result of the scrupulous scholarship on ancient objects and the impressive collection gathered at the Song court.

The Song antiquarian movement in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries led to semiotic borrowing and aestheticization, in which forms of ancient objects were appropriated to generate meaning for contemporary purposes. Examples such as the funerary stele that Yu Gongzhu (1165–1226) made for his deceased wife and the burial goods found in the tomb of Xianyu Shu (1257–1302) suggest that the appropriation of ancient images was closely associated with the creation of cultural identity for Song literati. The association should be understood in the context of the changing structure of Song society. As a newly emerged social class in society, enjoying at once political, intellectual, and economical privileges, the literati felt the need to create a set of cultural practices befitting their unprecedented social position and conforming to their beliefs in Neo-Confucian propriety and sensibility. Under the influence of leading literati such as Sima Guang and Zhu Xi (1130–1200), the cultural practices served to denote the literati's prestigious social standing and yet were distinguishable from the traditional practices associated with privileged aristocratic elite. The use of ancient imagery, which represented the cultural authority of antiquity, to create symbols and emblems for Song literati was part of this larger effort to forge cultural identity for the rising social elite.

The influence of the Song antiquarian movement in later periods was far-reaching, especially regarding the intellectual and cultural aspects of Chinese society. It stands at the head of an intellectual lineage, centered on antiquarian materials and activities, which continued into the late imperial period. The lineage begins with Ouyang's *Records of Collecting Antiquity*, then moves on to Zhao Mingcheng's *Records of Metal and Stone*. The pedigree was fully demonstrated in Hong Kuo's (1117–1184) *Annotations to the Clerical Script* (*Li shi*, preface 1167). Passages from Ouyang's and Zhao's works were

appended at the back of Hong's book, making it the earliest collection of Chinese antiquarian writings. This sense of intellectual continuity represented by a constructed lineage of notable antiquaries and their works in each generation was carried on in the following centuries. Many leading literati from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century, such as Wen Zhengming (1470–1599), Yang Shen (1488–1559), Wang Shizhen (1526–1590), and Zhao Han (1569–after 1618), expressed their debt to their Song predecessors.⁹

In terms of the development of material culture in later periods, a set of aesthetic principles was formulated through the Song antiquarian movement. The popularization of antiquarian material in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, through the commodification of ancient objects or through the borrowing or appropriation of ancient imagery, gave rise to the concept of “elegant” (*ya*) taste. The strong desire for ancient objects in society at large encouraged the development of an aestheticized view of these objects, in which they became not only highly valued but also essentialized in their association with cultural authenticity and privilege. Ancient images were used as emblems for cultural identity, as signifiers of fashions, and as symbols of moral values, eventually culminating in the formulation of a notion of “elegant taste” in later periods. Similar to the “polite taste” in the elite society of eighteenth-century England, which also had its roots in antiquarianism, the concept of elegant taste has to be understood in contrast to the concept of “vulgar” (*su*) taste in the Chinese context.

An ancient object or image would gain currency as a symbol of elegant taste only when it was clearly distinguishable from the symbols of vulgar taste. Ancient objects’ high market values and intellectual inaccessibility to a non-classically educated audience produced a secure barrier between Chinese literati elite and the rest of society, thereby forming ideal cultural symbols for this group, which was characterized by intellectual superiority and elegant taste. However, the powerful forces that assimilated ancient imagery into popular visual culture through print publication and commercialized mass production compelled the literati elite to search for new sources of ancient images in order to reestablish the barrier between high and low culture. The use of ancient images for the constant negotiation between the elegant and the vulgar in later periods perpetuated the position of antiquity at the forefront of fashion.

NOTES

Introduction: Exploring the Song Antiquarian Movement

- 1 Elman, *From Philosophy to Philology*, 188–91; and Chang, “Archaeology and Chinese Historiography,” 156–69.
- 2 The two well-known Song catalogues of ancient objects illustrated a close tie in format, despite their different ideological views and sociopolitical contexts: Sena, “Cataloguing Antiquity,” 200–28; and Hsu Ya-hwei, “Antiquarians and Politics,” 230–48.
- 3 Bol, “*This Culture of Ours*,” 201–11.
- 4 Ouyang Xiu and Song Qi, *Xin Tangshu* (New Tang history), *Li Yue* (On rite and music) 1, *juan* (j.) 11, 307–8.
- 5 Lü Dalin, *Kaogu tu ji* (early Ming edition) 77: 614–15.
- 6 Ibid., 77: 615–16.
- 7 For a comprehensive study of Song views of Yan Zhenqing’s calligraphy, see Amy McNair, *The Upright Brush: Yan Zhenqing’s Calligraphy and Song Literati Politics* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1998).
- 8 Ibid., 1–2.
- 9 Entries for the thirty-four titles were originally arranged in two sections, but only entries in the first section of the book survived. Zhai Qinian, *Congshu jicheng chubian*, v. 1513.
- 10 Based the table of contents, several works listed in *History of Ancient Scripts* might be ink rubbings or copies of ancient inscriptions, or contemporary ones written in the ancient style. For example, the seventh title in the table of contents of *Stele of Stone Drums* (*Shigu bei*) indicates that it was a stone carving of the inscriptions from the famous Stone Drums discovered in the early Tang dynasty. Ibid., 1.
- 11 Well regarded for his knowledge in ancient script, Zhai Ruwen was a leading scholar in Huizong’s court who studied the imperial antique collection. Ebrey, *Emperor Huizong*, 262–63. Zhai Ruwen was responsible for composing the ritual texts inscribed on the archaic bronzes used in Huizong’s reformed state rituals (Liu Zai, *Jingkou qijiu zhuang*). His role in Huizong’s ritual reform and the making of archaic ritual bronzes was delineated in details in the eulogy “Zhai shi Gongxun maiming,” by his son, Zhai Qinian, in *Zhonghui ji*, appendix, 4–5.
- 12 Wang Guowei, “Song dai zhi jinshixue,” 45–49.
- 13 Harrist, “Artist as Antiquarian.”

- 14 The stone classics in the Eastern Han and Wei period Wang referred to in his essay are *Xiping shijing* (carved in 175) and *Zhengshi shijing* (in 241).
- 15 These works include Ma Heng, *Zhongguo jinshixue gaiyao*; Wei Juxian, *Zhongguo kaoguxue shi*; and Zhu Jianxin, *Jinshixue*.
- 16 Liang Qichao, “Zhongguo kaogu zhi guoqu ji jianglai,” 1–15. In addition to Liang’s speech, the Swedish royalty was greeted with the announcement of the surprising discovery of the Peking Man by Swedish geologist and archaeologist Johan G. Andersson (Jia and Huang, *Story of Peking Man*, 10–27).
- 17 Chen Xingcan, *Zhongguo shiqian kaoguxue shi yanjiu*, 87–94, 98.
- 18 Wei Juxian, *Zhongguo kaoguxue shi*, 67–82.
- 19 Chang, “Archaeology and Chinese Historiography,” 156–69.
- 20 Li Ji, “Zhongguo guqiwu xue de xin jichu,” 63–79, especially 65.
- 21 Ibid., 68–69.
- 22 Works in this group of studies are numerous, including Rudolph, “Preliminary Notes on Sung Archaeology,” 169–77; Xia Chaoxiong, “Song dai jinshi xue,” 66–76; Ye Guoliang, *Song dai jinshi xue yanjiu*; Chen Huiling, “Lun Song dai jinshi xue,” 245–58; Li Jing, “Song dai jinshixue,” 63–68; Chen Fang-mei, “Song guqiwu xue,” 37–160; Rawson, “Many Meanings of the Past in,” 397–421; and Asim, “Aspects of the Perception of Zhou Ideals,” 459–79.
- 23 Chen Huiling, “Lun Song dai jinshi xue,” 247–48.
- 24 Xia Chaoxiong, “Song dai jinshi xue,” 72–73. The quote by Ouyang Xiu comes from “Jigu lu mu xu,” which can be found in *Ouyang Xiu quanji*, 2: 600.
- 25 Several recent studies discuss different views of antiquity in the context of Song social and political conditions: Sena, “Cataloguing Antiquity,” 200–28; Moser, “Ethics of Immutable Things,” 259–93; and Hsu Ya-hwei, “Antiquarians and Politics,” 230–47.
- 26 See, for example, Ebrey, “Replicating Zhou Bells at the Northern Song Court,” 179–99.
- 27 Xia Chaoxiong, “Song dai jinshixue,” 73–74. The ancient bells referred to during Renzong’s ritual reform were known as the Baohe bells, based on their inscriptions. Renzong’s ritual reform was described in detail in Ebrey, “Replicating Zhou Bells at the Northern Song Court,” 183–88.
- 28 Chen Fang-mei, “Song guqiwu xue,” 55–91.
- 29 Chen Mengjia, “Song Dasheng bianzhong kaoshu,” 51–53; Chen Fang-mei, “Song guqiwu xue,” 63–74; Ebrey, “Replicating Zhou Bells at the Northern Song Court,” 188–94; and Hu Jinyin, “Bei Song Huizong chao Dasheng yue,” 100–12.
- 30 Ye Guoliang, *Song dai jinshixue yanjiu*, 249–77, 297–303.
- 31 Xia Chaoxiong, “Song dai jinshixue,” 74. Xia referred to a list of items used for cultural consumptions in *Dongtian qinglu* (Records of the pure registers of the Cavern Heaven) by Zhao Xigu (active late twelfth to early thirteenth century).
- 32 Hsu Ya-hwei, “Xuanhe bogu tu de jianjie liuchuan,” 1–26; and Chen Fang-mei, “Yu Sandai tongfeng,” 61–150.
- 33 Notable studies contributing to these paradigms include Harrist, “Artist as Antiquarian,” 237–80; Egan, *Problem of Beauty*, 7–59; and Ebrey, “Replicating Zhou Bells at the Northern Song Court,” 179–99.

- 34 For example, Cai Tao (late eleventh to mid-twelfth century), *Tieweishan congtan*, j. 5.
- 35 Wang Guowei (“Song dai zhi jinshixue,” 45–49) recognizes that the Song antiquarian movement made large contributions in collecting, documenting, and studying ancient inscriptions.
- 36 Miller and Louis, *Antiquarianism and Intellectual Life in Europe and China*, 1–24; Rawson, “Novelties in Antiquarian Revivals,” 1–24; and Schnapp, *Discovery of the Past*, 74–79.
- 37 Mazzocco, “Petrarca, Poggio, and Biondo,” 353–63.
- 38 Poggio, *Historiae de varietate fortunae*, book 1, 7.
- 39 The statement pertains to his encountering with an ancient inscription in 1045. See chapter 1 for further discussion of this incident. Ouyang Xiu, “Tang Kongzi miaotang bei, Jigu lu bawei,” j. 5, in Li Yi’an ed., *Ouyang Xiu quanji*, 5: 2187–88.
- 40 Sena, “Song-Ming Connection in the Ming Study of Ancient Inscriptions,” 29–39.
- 41 Momigliano, “Ancient History and the Antiquarian,” 285–315; Levine, *Humanism and History*, 73–106; and Miller, “Major Trends in European Antiquarianism, Petrarch to Peiresc,” 244–60.
- 42 Mazzocco, “Antiquarianism of Francesco Petrarca,” 203–24.
- 43 Mazzocco, “Petrarca, Poggio, and Biondo,” 353–63.
- 44 Miller (“Major Trends in European Antiquarianism,” 255–56) argues that the bulk of antiquarianism in early modern Europe relies heavily on literary sources in their understanding of the ancient world, and the physical materials from the past were largely viewed as a token for the connection to antiquity.
- 45 Richardson, *Reclaiming Rome*, 175–76. For a brief discussion of this composition, see Miller, “Major Trends in European Antiquarianism,” 249–50.
- 46 Rome circa 1420 was depopulated, filthy, and overrun by poverty and warlords. McCahill, *Reviving the Eternal City*, 2–10.
- 47 Ibid., 174–75.
- 48 Chen Fang-mei, “Song guqiwuxue de xingqi,” 55–89.
- 49 Ebrey (“Replicating Zhou Bells at the Northern Song Court,” 179–99) vividly illustrates the remaking of sacrificial bells during the ritual overhaul.
- 50 Stenhouse, “Visitors, Display, and Reception in the Antiquity Collections,” 397–434.
- 51 Parker, *Archaeology of Rome: The Via Sacra*, 1–29.
- 52 The Roman statue is a copy of an ancient Greece bronze statue, purportedly by Lysippos (active fourth century BCE). Although the original bronze statue is no longer extant, there exist several later copies, including a bronze statue now in the Louvre (Haskell and Penny, *Taste and the Antiquity*, 229–32).
- 53 Stenhouse, “Panvinio and *Descriptio*,” 233–56.
- 54 Haskell, *History and Its Images*, 39–40.
- 55 The pictorial reconstructions can be seen in Onofrio Panvinio’s *De ludis circensibus, libri II: De triumphis, liber unus. Quibus universa ferè Romanorum veterum sacra ritusque declarantur*, published posthumously in 1601.
- 56 Dong and Huang supervised the compilation of the catalogue for Emperor Hui-zong’s collection of ancient ritual objects (Sena, “Cataloguing Antiquity,” 200–28).
- 57 Miller, *Peiresc’s Europe*, 23–26.

- 58 Peiresc famously debunked the assertion involving an alleged ancient giant's skull found in 1613 (*ibid.*, 30–32).
- 59 Shen Kuo's book includes sections of anecdotes and reflections on historical and contemporary political events and characters, many of which were made from the perspectives of the New Policies envisioned by the reformist Wang Anshi (1021–1086), of whom Shen was a dedicated follower (Sivin, "Shen Kua," 31–56).
- 60 For a description of the Earl of Arundel as a collector and his collections, see Hanson, *English Virtuoso*, 23–25; for Emperor Huizong's collection of antiques, see Ebrey, *Accumulating Culture*, 153–203.
- 61 Webb, *English Romantic Hellenism*, 1889–91; and Hsu Ya-hwei, "Xuanhe bogu tu de jianjie liuchuan," 1–26.
- 62 Levine, "The Antiquarian Enterprise," in *Humanism and History*, 73–75.
- 63 In his discussion of the cultural and institutional crises following the rebellion, Bol ("This Culture of Ours," 108–47) argues that the aftermath resulted from a combination of the historical event and a lack of confidence in cultural traditions that antedated the rebellion.
- 64 Pulleyblank, "An Lu-Shan Rebellion and the Origins of Chronic Militarism."
- 65 These mega compilations include *Taiping yulan* (*Imperial views in the era of grand peace*, completed 984), *Taiping guangji* (*Inclusive collection of writings in the era of grand peace*, completed 978), and *Wenyuan yinghua* (*Supreme collection of literary works*, first draft completed in 986). For a discussion of these compilation projects and their political connotations, see Kurz, "Politics of Collecting Knowledge," 289–316.
- 66 Momigliano, "Ancient History and the Antiquarian," 287–88.
- 67 Bounia, *Nature of Classical Collecting*, 53–54.
- 68 Momigliano, "Ancient History and the Antiquarian," 289; and Schnapp, *Discovery of the Past*, 60–65.
- 69 Bounia (*Nature of Classical Collecting*, 46–64) argues that the difference between historians and antiquaries stemmed more from different methodological approaches to antiquity than from the disparity between their goals for understanding the past. Phillips ("Reconsiderations on History and Antiquarianism," 297–316) challenges the validity of this bilateral view by highlighting the multiplicity of histories produced in eighteenth-century Britain.
- 70 Momigliano, "Gibbon's Contribution to Historical Method," 450–63.
- 71 *Ibid.*; and Miller, *Momigliano and Antiquarianism*, 20.
- 72 Huang Junjie and Gu Weiyi, "Zhongguo chuantong shixue yu houxiandai zhuyi de tiaozhan," 1–15.
- 73 *Ibid.*
- 74 Ouyang was also celebrated for his accomplishments in classical study, his talents in literature and art, and his visions in Song politics. Liu, *Ou-yang Hsiu*, 85–154; and Egan, "Ou-yang Hsiu and Su Shih on Calligraphy," 365–419.
- 75 Ouyang explicitly stated the use of the "praise and blame" model as well as the inspiration of *Spring and Autumn Annals* to his book in the preface to the *New*

History of the Five Dynasties. Lee, “Ou-yang Hsiu’s Application of the *Ch’üan-Ch’iu* to His Histories,” 107–25.

- 76 Ouyang also used his commentaries to express views on contentious political issues of his times. The commentaries were so closely related to his political views that we can observe the evolution of his stance by comparing revisions of his writing (Davis, introduction to *Historical Records of the Five Dynasties*, xlviii–lxix).
- 77 Richardson, “William Camden and the Re-Discovery of England,” 108–23.
- 78 Hepple, “William Camden and Early Collections of Roman Antiquities in Britain,” 159–74.
- 79 One of such rare examples is the *Liu Xi xuesheng zhong bei*, Ouyang, *Jigulu bawei*, j. 4. The physical location of this stele was crucial in the commentary, because it brought together the histories of the stele, the figures mentioned in the inscription, and the events in Ouyang’s own life.
- 80 See chapter 1 for further discussion about Ouyang’s view on historicity and antiquity.
- 81 Several studies have dealt with the issues regarding writing and political authority in early China. Lewis, *Writing and Authority in Early China*; and Connery, *Empire of the Text*.
- 82 The privilege given to historical writing was a well-established tradition in China, which can be traced back to the Warring States period (mid-fifth century to 221 BCE). Lewis, *Writing and Authority in Early China*, 99–146.
- 83 For a discussion of Dong You’s role in Song antiquarian writings, see Sena, “Cataloguing Antiquity,” 212–25. Because of their traditional values and technical convenience, ink rubbings are still the medium of choice for scholars of inscribed bronzes today. For example, *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* (enlarged edition, 2007), a standard reference to Shang-Zhou bronze inscriptions compiled by the Institute of Archaeology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, still reproduces rubbings rather than photographs of the inscriptions.

1. Ouyang Xiu’s *Records of Collecting Antiquity*

- 1 Von Falkenhausen, “Antiquarianism in East Asia,” 35–66.
- 2 Pomian, *Collectors and Curiosities*, 1–6.
- 3 Ouyang Xiu, *Jigu lu mu xu*, in Li Yi’an ed., *Ouyang Xiu quanji*, 2: 600. The passage came from a preface Ouyang had written for an inventory list of his collection. The list, which includes basic information on each item in the collection, was first compiled by Ouyang himself and finished by his son Ouyang Fei (1047–1113) in 1069.
- 4 Ouyang Xiu, *Jigu lu mu xu*, in Li Yi’an ed., *Ouyang Xiu quanji*, 2: 600.
- 5 The term “antiquarian impulse” was used by Daniel Woolf (“Dawn of the Artifact,” 5–35) to characterize a spectrum of attitudes toward ancient objects in his study of antiquaries in England during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.
- 6 Consisting of more than four hundred pieces of colophons, the anthology was first issued after Ouyang’s death in 1072 and was further enlarged and reissued in 1196 as

- an integral part of Ouyang's writings in *Ouyang Wenzhong gong ji* (Collection of Master Ouyang's writings). Gu Yongxin, *Ouyang Xiu xueshu yanjiu*, 287–89.
- 7 Four fragments of Ouyang's colophons survived and are in the collections of the National Palace Museum, Taipei (Guoli gugong bowuyuan, *Qianxinian Song dai wenwu dazhan tulu* [China at the inception of the second millennium: Art and culture of the Sung dynasty, 960–1279], 91).
 - 8 Ronald Egan ("Rethinking 'Traces' from the Past: Ouyang Xiu on Stone Inscriptions," in Egan, *Problem of Beauty*, 23–58) analyzes these commentaries and points out the historical significance, moral values, and aesthetic standards that Ouyang believed to have preserved in his collection.
 - 9 Based on the details in the poems by Lü Dalin and his colleague Qin Guan (1049–1100) as well as Lü's eulogy, Li Rubing ("Lü Dalin shengzunian ji youguan wenti kaobian," 28–30, 36) demonstrated that Lü was born in 1040, fourteen years after his brother Lü Dafang (1027–1097), and lived through the spring of 1093.
 - 10 For extant Song writings on antiquarian subjects, see Rong Yuan, *Jinshi shumu lu*. For lost texts, see Yang Dianxun and Rong Geng, "Song dai jinshi yishu mu."
 - 11 For a list of available editions of Song antiquarian writings, see Chen Juncheng, "Song dai jinshi xue zhu shu kao."
 - 12 Miu Quansun, ed. and comp., Ouyang Fei, *Jigu lu mu*. Miu's slightly earlier contemporary Huang Benji (1781–1856) also attempted to reconstruct *Jigu lu mu* by compiling extant entries from early sources (San zhangwu zhai edition, 1835).
 - 13 Ouyang's many roles in Song cultural and intellectual history was laid out in Liu's *Ou-yang Hsiu*, 1–4.
 - 14 Ouyang's father, Ouyang Guan, died when Ouyang was only four. Unable to pay for a tutor, Ouyang's mother shouldered the task of his early education. Ouyang Fa, "Xian gong shiji," in *Ouyang Xiu quanji*, 6: 2626–41.
 - 15 Bol, "This Culture of Ours," 108–47.
 - 16 Liu, *Ou-yang Hsiu*, 70.
 - 17 Bol, "This Culture of Ours," 176–210.
 - 18 Ouyang, "Ji jiuben Han wen hou," in *Ouyang Xiu quanji*, j. 73, 3: 1056–57.
 - 19 Bol, "This Culture of Ours," 212–53.
 - 20 Tao Jinsheng, *Song Liao guanxi shi yanjiu* (A study of the history of Song-Liao relation), 15–42.
 - 21 The frequent correspondences between Cai and Ouyang recorded in *Jigu lu bawei* (such as the ones in j. 1, 3 and 5) indicate that the two must have often viewed the collection together.
 - 22 The term Three Dynasties (Sandai) refers to the earliest three dynasties in traditional Chinese historiography—namely, the Xia, Shang, and Western Zhou dynasties—which roughly correspond to the period from the late prehistoric to the eighth century BCE. Although the existence of the Xia dynasty is yet to be substantiated by archaeological evidence, all three dynasties are often used as synonyms for China's high antiquity.
 - 23 Ouyang, "Yu Cai Junmo qiu shu Jigu lu xu shu," in *Ouyang Xiu quanji*, j. 70, 3: 1022–23. In the letter Ouyang requested Cai's calligraphy for the preface to *Records*

- of *Collecting Antiquity*, which Ouyang had composed himself. Cai, however, didn't accept the request and explained the reason in his response (Cai Xiang, *Cai Zhong-hui gong wenji*, j. 24).
- 24 Liu, *Ou-yang Hsiu*, 65–68.
- 25 Ouyang was demoted to Yangzhou (in today's Jiangsu) in 1048 and to Yingzhou (in today's Anhui) in 1049. Yan Jie, *Ouyang Xiu nianpu*, 151–57.
- 26 Textual evidence indicates that Ouyang was gathering material for the study right before 1045 and continued to work on this project throughout the 1050s. Hua Ziheng ("Zengding Ouyang Wenzhong gong nianpu") argued that the commentary was completed in 1059.
- 27 Pei Puxian, *Ouyang xiu Shi benyi yan jiu*, 99–101; and Sena, "Ouyang Xiu's Conceptual Collection of Antiquity," 215.
- 28 Ouyang, "Tang Kongzi miaotang bei," in *Jigu lu bawei*, j. 5.
- 29 Shi Hui ("Jianxi Zhongguo gudai de huangwei dizhangzi jichengzhi") explained that the rule of primogeniture was considered orthodox for political succession since the Spring-Autumn period, because it was consistent with Confucian ethics of familial hierarchy. The system was thus upheld as an ideal practice by later rulers such as Gaozu, although it was often ineffective, for it did not consider subjective factors such as the incumbent emperor's preference or the strength of the candidates. Andrew Eisenberg (*Kingship in Early Medieval China*, 169–72) argued that Gaozu purposefully condoned competition among his sons to allow the sibling rivalry to play its course under his watch.
- 30 "Sui and T'ang China 589–906," in Twitchett and Fairbank, *Cambridge History of China*, vol. 3, part I, 182–87.
- 31 For the commission and the transformation of the stele, see Zhang Yansheng, *Shanben beitie lu*, 95–96.
- 32 It was a common practice in China to reproduce an old stele inscription based on its rubbing. The calligraphic image of the inscription was first transferred from the rubbing onto a prepared stone. The stone was then carved by an artisan following the transferred brushstrokes. This new stone inscription was called *fanke* (recarve).
- 33 The colophon was inscribed by Zhang Wei, a late Tang collector, on a rubbing taken from Empress Wu's stele and recorded by Huang Tingjian in "Ti Zhang Fuyi jia Miaotang bei" in *Shan'gu tiba*, 115.
- 34 Tuotuo, *Song shi*, j. 255.
- 35 Lu Yuan, *Xi'an Beilin shi*, 70–101.
- 36 Another surviving recarve of the Temple Stele, made during the thirteenth century, is preserved in Chengwu, Shandong, known as the East Temple Stele, while the Temple Stele in Xi'an is known as the West Temple Stele (Zhang Yansheng, *Shanben beitie lu*, 95).
- 37 Lu Yuan, *Xi'an Bei lin shi*, 187–89.
- 38 The album was in the collection of Li Zonghan (1770–1832), a Linchuan native, before it was brought to Japan, thus the title (Mitsui Bunko, *Teihyōkaku Kyūzō Hitaku-meijō Sen*).

- 39 The cut-mounting technique is described in *Zhuanghuang zhi*, a seventeenth-century manual on mounting techniques, written by Zhou Jiazhou, in *Shuhua zhuangbiao jiyi jishi*, edited by Du Bingzhuang and Du Zixiong (Shanghai: Shuhua, 1993), 87. See also van Gulik, *Chinese Pictorial Art as Viewed by the Connoisseur*, 94–98.
- 40 Weng Fanggang (1733–1818), “Yuankang li shi suocang Tang ta Miaotang bei,” in *Suzhai tiba*, leaves 48a, b.
- 41 Huang Tingjian, “Ti Cai Zhijun jia Miaotang bei,” in *Shan’gu tiba*, 116.
- 42 Ibid.
- 43 Lu Xinyuan (1834–1894), *Jinshi xuelu bu*, j. 1.
- 44 Hu Ke, *Luling Ouyang Wenzhong gong nianpu*.
- 45 Zhou Bida, editor’s foreword, in Ouyang Xiu, *Jigu lu bawei* (1196 edition).
- 46 Zeng Hongfu (d. 1248), “Liuyi xiansheng *Jigu lu*,” in *Shike puxu*, part 2.
- 47 Ouyang Xiu, *Jigu lu mu xu*.
- 48 *Qianxinian Song dai wenwu dazhan tulu*, 91.
- 49 Ouyang Fei, *Jigu lu mu*. The list was lost after the Song but was reconstructed in the nineteenth century from quotes. Miao Quansun (1844–1919), *Yunzizaikan congshu*, vols. 4–5.
- 50 Ouyang valued actual antique objects. Liu Chang (“He Yongshu hanye huiyin jijiang shi,” in *Gongshiji*, j. 12), who was also well known for his antique collection, recorded that during a festive gathering, Ouyang showed his guests a bronze spear head decorated with zoomorphic designs, along with ancient inscriptions, from his collection.
- 51 Sena, “Ouyang Xiu’s Conception Collection of Antiquity,” 220–21.
- 52 Wu, “On Rubbings,” 29–72.
- 53 Ouyang Xiu, “Liuyi jushi zhuan,” in *Ouyang Xiu quanji*, j. 44, 2: 634–36; and “Zafatie, *Jigu lu bawei*,” j. 10, in *Ouyang Xiu quanji*, 5: 2316.
- 54 Walter Benjamin, “The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction,” in Benjamin, *Illuminations*, 218–20.
- 55 Zhao Haiming, *Beitie jiancang*, 172–78. Chinese rubbing traditionally uses black ink. Red ink is also used, although rarely (*ibid.*, 103).
- 56 In his discussion about the important function of a rubbing in recording the history of an object, Wu Hung (“On Rubbings,” 52–58) links this function with the temporality of a stone carving and its rubbing.
- 57 Such irregular patterns are commonly known as “stone flowers” (*shihua*). Because of the uniqueness of the patterns, they are often used to authenticate a stone carving and its rubbings. Zhong Wei, “Bei tie jianding de canzhaodian,” in *Beitie jianding gailun*, 54–55.
- 58 Some rubbings represent only part of the objects from which they are taken. This is done by placing paper or applying ink only on a chosen part of the object. These rubbings were generated mostly for aesthetic purposes or as decoration.
- 59 The *Great Tang Restoration Encomium* is an inscription carved on the cliff face at the bank of the Wu River in Qiyang, Hunan. The text was composed by the loyalist official general Yuan Jie (719–772) and the calligraphy by the Confucianist

- calligrapher Yan Zhenqing (709–785). Carved in 771, the inscription commemorated the pacification of the An Lushan Rebellion (755–763) and was believed to insinuate against Emperor Suzong (r. 756–762) for his usurping the throne. Deng Xiaojun, “Yuan jie zhuan Yan Zhenqing shu Da Tang zhongxing song kaoshi,” 125.
- 60 Ouyang Xiu, “Tang zhongxing song,” in *Jigu lu bawei*, j. 7, in *Ouyang Xiu quanji* 5: 2243, note 2. This colophon was found on scroll number 50 in the twelfth century by the editors of *Ouyang Wenzhong gongji*. Ouyang had written another colophon for the Tang inscription for publication, the content of which is similar to but not identical with the one quoted here.
- 61 Ouyang Xiu, “Tang Tian Hongzheng jiamiao bei,” in *Jigu lu bawei*, j. 8, *Ouyang Xiu quanji*, 5: 2270–71.
- 62 Ibid.
- 63 Ibid., 2: 599–600.
- 64 The degree of faithfulness also depends on how the paper is applied to the carved surface. For a detailed description of rubbing techniques, see Ma Ziyun, *Jinshi chuantuo jifa*, 7–14; and van Gulik, *Chinese Pictorial Art as Viewed by the Connoisseur*, 86–93.
- 65 Wu, “On Rubbings,” 40–41.
- 66 Ibid., 29–30.
- 67 Ouyang Xiu, “Tang zhongxing song,” in *Jigu lu bawei*, j. 7, *Ouyang Xiu quanji*, 5: 2243.
- 68 Su Bai, *Baisha Song mu*, plates 5, 9. Wu (*Double Screen*, 177) discusses the popularity of “calligraphy screens” represented in painting from the eleventh to the fourteenth century. He argues that the literary content of the calligraphy on the screens portrayed in paintings did not concern the artists, because their goal was “simply to paint a screen with ‘patterns’ pertaining to the writing style of a famous calligrapher.” Ouyang’s colophon suggests that owners of calligraphy screens made from the *Great Tang Restoration Encomium* took pains to restore the damaged characters in the inscription. In addition to being admired for its calligraphy, the inscription was appreciated for its literary content as a seminal essay by the statesman Yuan Jie.
- 69 Ouyang Xiu, “Tang zhongxing song,” in *Jigu lu bawei*, j. 7, *Ouyang Xiu quanji*, 5: 2243.
- 70 Egan, “Ou-yang Hsiu and Su Shih on Calligraphy,” 367.
- 71 Ouyang Xiu, “Da Dai xiu Huayuemiao bei,” in *Jigu lu bawei*, j. 4, *Ouyang Xiu quanji*, 5: 2170–71. The historical event referred to here was the debate regarding the use of the dynastic title Dai in 398 during the reign of the Northern Wei emperor Daowu (r. 386–409).
- 72 The vessel, known as the Jin Jiang Cauldron in other Song antiquarian writings, was found in Hancheng (in today’s Shaanxi). Ouyang, “Hancheng ding ming” in *Jigu lu bawei*, j. 1, *Ouyang xiu quanji*, 5: 2066–69.
- 73 The Consort Jiang of Jin in the inscription has been identified by modern scholars with at least four different individuals in early China: the wife or mother of Marquis Wen of Jin (r. 781–746 BCE) or the wife or daughter-in-law of Duke Wen of Jin (r. 636–628 BCE). Li Xueqin, *Dong Zhou yu Qin dai wenming*, 33–34; Shim, “Early Development of the State of Jin,” 160–69; Shirakawa Shizuka, *Kinbun tsushaku*, 6: 83–97;

- Sun Qingwei, "Jin hou mudi M 63 muzhu zaitan," 60–67; and Zhongguo shehui kexue yuan Kaogu yanjiu suo, *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng shiwen*, 2: 392.
- 74 Cai Tao, "Tang Song shiliao biji congkan," in *Tieweisian congtan*, 79; and Ouyang Xiu, "Yu Liu shidu ershiqi tong, ershiwu," in *Ouyang Xiu quanji*, 6: 2425.
- 75 Liu Chang, "Xian Qin guqi ji," in *Gongshi ji*, j. 36; and Yang Dianxun and Rong Geng, "Song dai jinshi yishu mu," 204–28. As the earliest study on a private collection of Chinese ancient bronze vessels, this catalogue was in fact an album of rubbings—images of the eleven vessels and their inscriptions were carved on stone, and rubbings were taken from the stones for distribution. The catalogue was likely to have circulated among Song antiquaries and stimulated interest in ancient bronze vessels. The significance of Liu's work in the development of Song antiquarian writings is discussed in chapter 3.
- 76 Emperor Renzong ordered the compilation of *Huangyou Era's Three Halls Ancient Vessels with Illustrations* (*Huangyou sanguan guqi tu*). The eleven vessels included in this imperial commission were housed in the Chongwen Imperial Academy, a court-sponsored institute for the study of classics and history. The significance of this imperial commission in the development of Song antiquarian writing is discussed in chapter 3.
- 77 Ouyang Xiu, "Guqi ming er," in *Jigu lu bawei*, j. 1, in *Ouyang Xiu quanji*, 5: 2072.
- 78 Ouyang Xiu, "Yu Liu shidu ershiqi tong, ershiwu," in *Ouyang Xiu quanji*, 6: 2428.
- 79 However, even for an expert like Yang, there were still graphs in the inscription too difficult to decipher. Ouyang Xiu, "Hancheng ding ming," in *Jigu lu bawei*, j. 1, in *Ouyang Xiu quanji*, 5: 2067–69.
- 80 Ouyang Xiu, "Yu Liu shidu ershiqi tong, ershiliu," in *Ouyang Xiu quanji*, 6: 2429.
For Liu's transcription see *Jigu lu bawei*, j. 1, in *Ouyang Xiu quanji*, 5: 2067.
- 81 Ouyang Xiu, *Jigu lu bawei*, j. 1, in *Ouyang Xiu quanji*, 5: 2067.
- 82 *Liang* is a measuring unit for weight; 1 *liang* in the Eastern Zhou was about 15.6 grams.
- 83 My attempt with the English translations of the Song transcriptions by Liu and Yang is to reflect the different ways in which the bronze inscription was interpreted by them. My translations are therefore substantially different from those by modern scholars whose goal is to accurately interpret the inscription using the knowledge from modern studies of Chinese paleography. The purpose of my translations is to provide a foundation for the comparison of the different views by the two Song antiquaries to highlight the problem Ouyang faced. For a recent English translation of the inscription, see Shim, "Early Development of the State of Jin," 163–64.
- 84 Ouyang Xiu, "Hancheng ding ming," in *Jigu lu bawei*, j. 1, in *Ouyang Xiu quanji*, 5: 2067. The composite graphs used here are taken from Lü Dalin (1046–1092), *Kaogu tu*, j. 1, in *Yingyin Wenyuange Siku quanshu*, 840: 99–100. A comparison of the transcriptions by Yang and by Lü's shows very clearly that Lü developed his transcription based on Yang's.
- 85 The English translation here reflects not only Yang's transcription but also his discussion on philological issues included in the scroll for the inscription. Readings suggested by Yang are included in the translation in brackets. Yang's reading is

incorporated in the modern study of the inscription. Both Guo Morou (*Liang Zhou jinwenci daxi kaoshi*, 1: 229–39) and Jae-Hoon Shim (“Early Development of the State of Jin,” 166–69) take the inscription as evidence that documents Jin’s campaign against the south in an effort to secure the Zhou royal house in the beginning of the Spring and Autumn period. Li Xueqin (“Zhao wenhua de xingqi jiqi lishi yiji,” 15–18) argues that the vessel was made to commemorate the trade of salt and raw metal for bronze casting between Jin and the area of Fantang.

- 86 The State of Jin was a major force supporting the Zhou royal house during the eighth and seventh century BCE. Shim, “Early Development of the State of Jin,” 136–52; and Loewe and Shaughnessy, *Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221 B.C.*, 558–60.
- 87 It is not clear whether Yang implied any connection between the “Xixia” state in his transcription with the Tangut empire Western Xia, which was a substantial military threat to the stability of the Song dynasty before the peace treaty between the two countries in 1044. Yang’s reading of the graph might have alluded to this contemporary situation. The reading could suggest that the discovery of the Han-cheng Cauldron was taken as an omen in the Song period for a lasting peace with Western Xia.
- 88 Ouyang Xiu, “Hancheng ding ming,” in *Jigu lu bawei*, j. 1, in *Ouyang Xiu quanji*, 5: 2066–69.
- 89 Lü Dalin’s *Kaogu tu* also contains information from other antiquarian writings. Rong Geng, “Song dai jijin shuji shuping,” 3–6, 35.
- 90 Lü Dalin, *Kaogu tu* (Yizhengtang edition, 1752), j. 1.
- 91 The 1059 inscription of the vessel was engraved on a stone. *Jigu lu bawei*, j. 1, *Ouyang Xiu quanji*, 5: 2067. It is possible that what Yang had examined was a rubbing from the stone carving of the inscription, not the actual casting on the bronze vessel.
- 92 All three major extant editions of Ouyang’s works (i.e., the Zhou Bida edition of 1196, the Sibu congkan edition of the thirteenth century, and the Ouyang Heng edition of 1819) suggest the same structure for Ouyang’s colophon for the Han-cheng Cauldron. *Ouyang Wenzhong gong ji*, 2: 1038–40; and *Ouyang Xiu quanji*, 5: 2066–69.
- 93 The scroll ended with a colophon inscribed by Cai Xiang in 1064, in which Cai commented on the frequent existence of graphic variants in ancient texts. *Ouyang Xiu quanji*, 5: 2069.
- 94 Ouyang Xiu, “Zhangzhong qi ming,” in *Jigu lu bawei*, j. 1, in *Ouyang Xiu quanji*, 5: 2076–77.
- 95 The historiographical preference for ancient inscriptions was quite different from the connoisseurial approach to ancient objects adopted by Song Emperor Huizong and his officials, which focused primarily on the formal features of the Shang-Zhou vessels (Sena, “Cataloguing Antiquity,” 212–23).
- 96 The historiographical preference for ancient inscriptions was quite different from the connoisseurial approach to ancient objects adopted by Song Emperor Huizong and his officials, which focused primarily on the formal features of the Shang-Zhou vessels (Sena, “Cataloguing Antiquity,” 212–23).

- 97 Kern, “Introduction: The Ritual Texture of Early China,” viii. The ritual significance of stele inscriptions in commemorating historical figures and incidents had been critically acknowledged since the second century (Brashier, “Text and Ritual in Early Chinese Stelae,” 262–74).

2. Development of Song Antiquarian Writings

- 1 Chia and de Weerdt, *Knowledge and Text Production in an Age of Print*, 1–32; Fang Xiaoyang and Wu Dantong, “Cujin Song dai yinshua jishu jinbu de zhuyao yinsu,” 1–7; and Yao, *Song dai wenhua shi*, 83–99.
- 2 Su Bai, “Bei Song Bianliang diaoban yinshua kaolue,” in *Tang Song shiqi de diaoban yinshua*, 12–71.
- 3 The war between Song and Jin that took place during the Jingkang Era (1126–1127) and resulted in the fall of the Northern Song was commonly known as the Calamity of Jingkang. Levine, “Reigns of Hui-tsung (1100–1126) and Ch’in-tsung (1126–1127),” 639–43.
- 4 See the table of contents in Zhai Qinian, *History of Ancient Script* (Congshu jicheng chubian), 1513: 1–3.
- 5 Internal evidence shows that *History of Ancient Script* included some passages by Zhai Qinian’s father, Zhai Ruwen (1076–1141). For example, the entry for “Zhou Muwang dongxun timing yijuan” mentions an official post held by the elder Zhai as a tax superintendent in the eastern region in a first-person voice. *Ibid.*, 4–5.
- 6 Titles in the upper section of the table of contents were mostly dated to the middle to the late period of Northern Song, while most of the titles in the lower section were from the last years of the Northern Song and the early years of the Southern Song.
- 7 Two of the five extant works, Lü Dalin’s (1040–1093) *Examining Antiquity Illustrated* and *Xuanhe chongxiu Bogu tulu* compiled under Emperor Huizong (r. 1101–1125) in the early 1120s, survived in Ming-Qing editions, while the text of a third work, *Gu qiwu ming bei*, compiled by Zhao Mingcheng (1081–1129), was preserved in Zhao’s larger compilation on Song antiquarian materials titled *Jinshi lu*. Another extant work, *Lidai zhongding yiqi kuanshi fatie* by Xue Shanggong (active mid-twelfth century), was an anthology of Shang-Zhou bronze inscriptions. Originally carved in twenty-four stone slabs in 1144, the book survived in several later prints and copies. Nineteen leaves of rubbings taken from the original slabs were rediscovered in 1929 from the Qing Imperial Archives (Xu Zhongshu, “Song tuo shiben *Lidai zhongding yiqi kuanshi fatie* canben ba; zaba). Chen Fang-mei (“Jinxue, shike yu fatie chuantong de jiaohui,” 67–146) demonstrates that although the rubbings constituted only a fragment of Xue’s work, they nonetheless provide direct access to the content of the original stone carvings, especially its formal characteristics, as well as the cultural context related to the Song antiquarian movement during which the carvings were produced. A fourth work, listed in the lower section of the table of contents for the *History of Ancient Script* as *Lü shi Kaotu tu shi* attributed to Zhao Jiucheng (active twelfth to thirteenth century), was identified by Qing antiquaries Weng Fanggang (1733–1818) and Lu Xinyuan (1838–1894) as the same as another extant work

- (not listed in Zhai's book), titled *Kaogu tu shiwen*, a philological glossary for Lü's *Examining Antiquity Illustrated*. Other scholars, such as Qian Zeng (1629–1701) and the compilers of the *Siku quanshu* (late eighteenth century), attributed *Kaogu tu shiwen* to Lü himself instead, based on the substantial overlaps in content between the two works. Rong Geng (1894–1983) analyzed the content and agreed with the attribution to Lü (Rong Geng, "Song dai jijin shuji shuping" [1963], in *Songzhai shulin*, 6–10).
- 8 See an entry for *History of Ancient Script* from *Qinding Siku quanshu tiyao* reprinted in *Congshu jicheng chubian*, 1513: 1.
- 9 Rong Geng discussed eight works of Song antiquarian writings and their later editions in "Song dai jijin shuji shuping" (1963 revision), 3–30. Yang Dianxun ("Song dai jinshi yishu mu," 204–28) listed eighty-nine titles of Song antiquarian writings that are no longer extant. Yang's list was later expanded by Ye Guoliang (*Song dai jinshixue yanjiu*, 52–59) to include 112 titles.
- 10 Ye Guoliang (*Song dai jinshixue yanjiu*, 59–63) argued that many of the lost texts were partially preserved in large compilations or had been adopted into other antiquarian works. Rong Geng ("Song dai jijin shuji shuping" [1963 revision], 30–43) provided detailed descriptions of eleven lost titles of Song writings based on *History of Ancient Script* and other Song bibliographical studies. More recently, Robert Harrist ("Artist as Antiquarian," 237–80) reconstructed an illustrated catalogue by the artist-collector Li Gonglin (mid-eleventh century–1106) based on the excerpts preserved in Lü Dalin's *Examining Antiquity Illustrated*.
- 11 Published in 1933 (in Rong Geng, *Qingzhu Cai Yuanpei xiansheng liushiwu sui lunwenji*, 663–65), the article was substantially revised in 1963.
- 12 For example, Harrist's study ("Artist as Antiquarian") on Li Gonglin and Wan Shao-mao's study ("Liu Chang zai jinshi xue shang de gongxian ji yingxiang," 73–77) on the Northern Song antiquary and court official Liu Chang (1019–1068).
- 13 Hsu Ya-hwei, "Xuanhe bogu tu de jianjie liuchuan," 1–26; and Sena, "Cataloguing Antiquity," 200–28.
- 14 Rong Geng, "Song dai jijin shuji shuping" (1963 revision), 3–6; and Kwok, "Lü Dalin (1046–1092) *Kaogu tu yanjiu*."
- 15 Wang Guowei, "Song dai zhi jinshixue," 45–49.
- 16 Xia Chaoxiong, "Song dai jinshixue de zhuyao gongxian ji qi xingqi de yuanyin," 66–76. Another important study that shares this view is Ye Guoliang's *Song dai jinshixue yanjiu*.
- 17 Chen Bangzhan, *Song shi jishi benmo*, 41–48.
- 18 The Confucian classics for ritual standards include *Zhou li* (Zhou rites), *Yili* (Etiquette and rites), and *Liji* (Notes of ritual), commonly acknowledged as the "Three Rites." The Song court's effort to standardize the interpretation of these classic texts as a statement of its political authority began with *Sanli tu* (Illustrations of the Three Rites) compiled by the court official Nie Chongyi (fl. mid-tenth century), a specialist on state ritual during the Five Dynasties and early Song period. His book, presented to the Song emperor Taizu (r. 960–976) in 962, classified and defined the procedures and paraphernalia for state rituals described in the classical

- texts on rites. Based on historical studies of the classical texts, but innovative in its inclusion of illustrations, *Illustrations of the Three Rites* inspired discussions and drew criticism among generations of Song scholars. Von Falkenhausen, “Antiquarianism in East Asia,” 50; and Wang E, “Song Nie Chongyi Xinding Sanli tu de jiazhi he zhengli,” 76–87.
- 19 For a summary of the problems and reforms of ritual music, see Tuotuo, *Song shi*, 2937–38.
- 20 The Song emperor Renzong (r. 1022–1063) aggressively experimented with new formats of ritual music during the mid-eleventh century and later fell ill. It was believed that the new music had caused the illness. The unfortunate result forced the emperor to abandon the reform of ritual music. Yang Zhongliang, *Huang Song tongjian changbian jishi benmo*, j. 31, 511–36.
- 21 For example, He Xian (940–995), supervisor of Taichang (the Court of Grand Sacrifices), added new chimes and flutes and adjusted the key of the bells (Chen Bangzhan, *Song shi jishi benmo*, j. 8, 45–46).
- 22 Tuotuo, *Song shi*, j. 126, 2941.
- 23 Because of his young age when he ascended the throne, Renzong did not exercise his power in the first twelve years of his reign until the regent, Empress Dowager Liu, died in 1033. The first ritual reform that took place in 1034, shortly after the emperor assumed full political power, was apparently inspired by the new political condition. Tuotuo, *Song shi*, j. 126, 2970.
- 24 Yang Zhongliang, *Huang Song tongjian changbian jishi benmo*, j. 80, 1419–20.
- 25 Tuotuo, *Song shi*, j. 128, 2989–92.
- 26 The programs were carried out in 1034–1038 and 1050/51–1056 (Yang Zhongliang, *Huang Song tongjian changbian jishi benmo*, j. 31, 511–36).
- 27 Renzong wrote a treatise on musical keys used in ritual music, composed in the Jingyou era, titled *Jingyou yuesui xinjing* (New canon of the essential elements of music). In the treatise (dated 1035) Renzong discussed the meanings of different keys used in ritual music, the proper functions of these keys for different sacrifices, and the ways in which these keys related to one another. In addition, he described the physical characteristics of these keys, including the lengths of pitch pipes used to generate the keys. Although the treatise itself did not survive, the book’s general outline was preserved in the official history of the Song dynasty (Tuotuo, *Song shi*, j. 71, 1604–6.)
- 28 The institute was established during Renzong’s second attempt to reform ritual music in the Huangyou era (Yang Zhongliang, *Huang Song tongjian Changbian jishi benmo*, j. 31, 524–36; and Tuotuo, *Song shi*, j. 127, 2966).
- 29 Qianning is in today’s Hebei, and Liuyang in Hunan. Tuotuo, *Song shi*, j. 127, 2970; j. 162, 1435; Yang Zhongliang, *Huang Song tongjian changbian jishi benmo*, j. 31, 527; and Chen Bangzhan, *Song shi jishi benmo*, j. 28, 222.
- 30 Lü Dalin, *Examining Antiquity Illustrated*, j. 7. The bells were named after the person Zou mentioned in the inscription as the person who commissioned these bells. They were also known as Baohe zhong in *Xuanhe chongxiu Bogu tulu*, j. 22.

- 31 Ouyang Xiu, *Guitian lu*, j. 1, in *Ouyang Xiu quanji*, j. 126, 1923–24; Yang Zhongliang, *Huang Song tongjian changbian jishi benmo*, j. 31, 535; and Tuotuo, *Song shi*, j. 127, 2968–70.
- 32 Yang Zhongliang, *Huang Song tongjian changbian jishi benmo*, j. 31, 535; and Tuotuo, *Song shi*, j. 127, 2968–70. In addition to the shape, the thickness and dimensions of the new bells were also condemned for not conforming to the ancient examples. These problems eventually led to the abolition of the reform.
- 33 Zhai Qinian, “Zhou Qin guqi ming bei,” in *History of Ancient Script* (Congshu jicheng chubian), 1513: 18.
- 34 Ouyang Xiu, *Guitian lu*, j. 1, in *Ouyang Xiu quanji*, j. 126, 1923.
- 35 Zhai Qinian, “Huangyou sanguan guqi tu,” in *History of Ancient Script* (Congshu jicheng chubian). According to historical documents, the event took place in 1053. Xu Song, *Song huiyao jigao*, j. 5, 334; and Tuotuo, *Song shi*, j. 12, 234.
- 36 Tuotuo, *Song shi*, j. 127, 2966–67; and Hu Jinyin, “Cong Da'an dao Dasheng: Bei Song yuezhi gaige kaolun,” 127.
- 37 For example, Liu Chang’s *Xian Qin guqi tubei*, in Zhai Qinian, *History of Ancient Script* (Congshu jichen chubian), 1513: 16–18.
- 38 The incident involved a discovery of an ancient *ding*-tripod in Meiyang (in today’s Fufeng, Shaanxi) during Han Xuandi’s reign (73–49 BCE). Ban Gu (32–92 CE), *Han shu*, j. 25, part 2.
- 39 For Zhang Chang’s biography, see Ban Gu, *Han shu*, j. 76.
- 40 Yang Nanzhong was one of the main officials responsible for inscribing Confucian classics on stone during Emperor Renzong’s reign. The stone classics, known as *Jiayou Stone Classics* (completed in 1061), were written in two distinctive styles—seal script and standard script. Zhang Dianyou, “Bei Song Yang Nanzhong kaolue,” 184–85.
- 41 The authority who ordered Yang Nanzhong to embark on the task of transcription was referred to as Master Pingyang. His identity was likely to be Wen Yanbo (1006–1097), the prime minister at the time. Wen was a native of Fenzhou, which was under the jurisdiction of Pingyang prefecture (in today’s Linfen, Shanxi) during Northern Song. Wen was also known as an eager collector of ancient artifacts (Lu Xinyuan, *Jinshi xuelu bu*, j. 1). Six objects from his antique collection are included in Lü Dalin’s *Examining Antiquity Illustrated*, j. 1–6.
- 42 According to Zhao Mingcheng (*Jinshi lu*, j. 11), Yang did the drawings of the ancient bronzes himself and had them rendered in stone carving. Along with the titles of the ten inscribed bronze vessels, Yang gave a description of the form and décor of another tripod, for which he was uncertain of the provenance (Zhai Qinian, *History of Ancient Script* [Congshu jicheng chubian], 1513: 10–11).
- 43 The Three Halls here refers to the Hall for the Glorification of Literature (Zhao-wen guan), the Hall of Historiography (Shi guan), and the Academy of Scholarly Worthies (Jixian yuan). These were imperial libraries and research institutes for classics, literature, and history. During the early years of the Song dynasty, the Three Halls and the Imperial Archive (Mige) were named collectively as the Institute for

the Veneration of Culture (Chongwen yuan), which became a critical political organ of the Song imperial court. The research personnel of the institute often also served as high-level court officials in the executive branches of the imperial court, including the position of prime minister. Gong Yanming, “Song dai Chongwen yuan shuang-chong zhineng tanxi,” 133–44.

- 44 Zhai Qinian, “Huangyou sanguan guqi tu,” in *History of Ancient Script* (Congshu jicheng chubian), 1513: 10–11.
- 45 The objects recorded in the *Huangyou Catalogue* that were also included in Lü Dalin’s *Examining Antiquity Illustrated* were Zhongxinfu *yuanyan* and Boxunfu *fangyan* in j. 2, Taigong *fu* and Zaibifu *dui* (also known as Zhou *dui*) in j. 3, Qin Zhaohe *zhong* and five Baohe *zhong* in j. 7. Although Boyubo *he* (a spouted wine pitcher) was included in the *Huangyou Catalogue*, it was listed in Lü’s catalogue (j. 5) under the private collector and Prime Minister Wen Yanbo.
- 46 Ibid.
- 47 Zhao Chao, “Stone Inscriptions of the Wei-Jin Nanbeichao Period,” 84–96. The pre-Qin script was commonly used during the last period of Eastern Zhou (770–256 BCE) before Qin conquered the various states and unified China in 221 BCE. The small seal script was the official script used during the Qin (221–202 BCE), while the clerical script was the predominant calligraphic style during the Han-Wei period (second century BCE to third century CE) that followed Qin.
- 48 Yang Hengping, “Bei Song erti shijing kaoshu,” 30–34.
- 49 Yang’s effort in the production of the *Jiayou Stone Classics* was considered a great success, and he was awarded an honorary *jinshi* degree in 1061 upon the completion of the project (Li Huibin, “Song Renzong shiqi Guozijian shuxue Yang Nanzhong kaoshu,” 69–73).
- 50 The political significance of ancient bells was a well-studied example for the Song view of Chinese antiquity. Ebrey, “Replicating Zhou Bells at the Northern Song Court,” 179–99.
- 51 The discourse on ancient inscriptions took center stage in the Song intellectual debate during the twelfth century under Emperor Huizong’s auspices (Sena, “Cataloguing Antiquity,” 220–28).
- 52 Zhao Mingcheng (1081–1129) in *Jinshi lu bawei*, j. 11, in Jin Wenming, ed., *Jinshilu jiaozheng*, 200–201; and Zhai Qinian, *History of Ancient Script* (Congshu jicheng chubian), 1513: 12–13, 16–18.
- 53 For example, the stone carving of Li Gonglin’s *Zhou jian tu* was placed at Prince Qin’s mansion specifically for public access. Zhai Qinian, *History of Ancient Script* (Congshu jicheng chubian), 1513: 13.
- 54 Chao Gongwu, *Junzhai dushu zhi*, j. 4, in Sun Meng, *Junzhai dushuzhi jiaozheng*, 143.
- 55 Ouyang Xiu, *Jigu lu bawei*, j. 1, in Ouyang Xiu *quanji*, 5: 2062–75; Cai Tao, *Tiewei-shan congutan*, j. 4, in *Tang Song shiliao biji congkan*, 79; Sturman, “Mi Youren and the Inherited Literati Tradition,” 419–31; and Wan Shaomao, “Liu Chang zai jinshi xue shang de gongxian ji yingxiang,” 73–77.

- 56 Most of the early discoveries were presented to the imperial court as *xiangrui*, or auspicious signs from heaven (Rong Geng, *Shang Zhou yiqi tongkao*, 6–7).
- 57 Zhang Shangying, “Liu Chang nianpu,” in *Song ren nianpu congkan*, 4: 2068.
- 58 Ouyang Xiu, “Jigu lu bawei,” j. 1, in *Ouyang Xiu quanji*, j. 134, 5: 2086–87.
- 59 Ouyang Xiu, “Jixian yuan xueshi Liu gong muzhi ming,” in *Ouyang Xiu quanji*, j. 35, 524–27; and Tuotuo, *Song shi*, j. 319, 30: 10386.
- 60 Liu Chang (*Gongshi’s Writings*, j. 49, in *Congshu jicheng chubian*, 8: 595) owned many other ancient objects in addition to the eleven vessels represented in the *Pre-Qin Catalogue*. For example, a set of ten ritual bells, possibly from the Zhou period, which Liu acquired from Lishan, on the northern outskirts of today’s Xi’an, was not included in the catalogue. Ye Guoliang, *Song dai jinshi xue yanjiu*, 81–82; and Wan Shaomao, “Liu Chang zai jinshixue shang de gongxian ji yingxiang,” 73–77.
- 61 Liu Chang, “Xian Qin guqi ji,” in *Gongshi ji*, j. 36, in *Congshu jicheng chubian*, 1904: 437.
- 62 Liu Chang did not specify the titles of the eleven vessels in his essay. Concluding from other Song catalogues, Rong Geng (“Song dai jijin shuji pingshu” (1963), in *Songzhai shulin*, 32–34) listed the eleven vessels as Jin Jiang Cauldron, Shang Luo Cauldron, Gongbo Bowl, Maobo Tureen, Boshufu Tureen, Bojiong Tureens, Zhongyanfu Lü Tureen, Shugaofu Zhu Tureen, Zhangzhong Oblong Tureen, and Zhangbo Saucer. Rong, however, did not include the ten Mount Li Bells (Lishan shizhong), also mentioned in Liu Chang’s *Gongshi’s Writings*, j. 49, in *Congshu jicheng chubian*, 1906: 595.
- 63 Zhang Tingji (1768–1848) had a portion of Liu’s *Pre-Qin Catalogue* that contained seven of the eleven vessels (Zhang, “Huai Mi shanfang jijin tu xu,” in Cao Zaikui, *Huai Mi shanfang jijin tu*, v. 1).
- 64 Liu Chang, *Gongshi’s Writings*, j. 49, in *Congshu jicheng chubian*, 1906: 594; and Xue Shanggong, *Lidai zhongding yiqi kuanshi fatie*, j. 10, 12, 13, and 15, pp. 48–49, 57, 60–61, and 73–75.
- 65 Liu Chang, *Gongshi’s Writings*, j. 49, 1906: 594. The vessel was also known as Zhou Jiang Precious Tureen (Zhou Jiang bao dui) in Ouyang Xiu’s *Records of Collecting Antiquity*, named after the recipient of the vessel (Ouyang, *Jigu lu bawei*, j. 1, 5: 2074), and Master Boshou Tureen (Boshoufu dui) in Lü Dalin’s *Examining Antiquity Illustrated* with a different reading of the name (j. 3).
- 66 Lantian is in today’s Xi’an, Shaanxi.
- 67 The bronze inscription quoted in *Gongshi’s Writings* reads: “Master Bojiong commissioned for Jiang of Zhou this precious tureen. May sons and grandsons forever treasure and use it”; it is curiously different from the inscription recorded in Lü’s *Examining Antiquity Illustrated*, j. 3, and Xue’s *Lidai*, j. 13. My translation is based on the version of the latter two, which are identical with each other in textual content and consistent with the visual representations of the inscription in the two books.
- 68 Liu was referring to *Jiong ming* (Appointment of Jiong) in *Zhou shu* (Zhou documents), *Shangshu* (Book of documents), which recorded the royal decree by King Mu of Zhou on Bojiong’s appointment as the chamberlain of the Royal Stable. Kong Yingda, *Shangshu zhengyi*, in SSJZS, 1: 246.

- 69 Zhao Mingcheng (*Jinshi lu*, j. 13, in Jin Wenming, *Jinshi lu jiaozheng*, 223) also adopted the handscroll format for the inscriptional ink rubbings in his collection.
- 70 As a standard component in Chinese historical writing, the origin of *zan* can be traced back to Sima Qian's *Shiji* in the first century BCE. All three essays on ancient ritual objects preserved in Liu Chang's *Gongshi's Writings* (j. 49, 1906: 594–95) concluded with a four-character rhymed eulogy.
- 71 Zhao Wei (late seventeenth to early eighteenth century) concluded that the *Pre-Qin Catalogue* was originally carved on two stone slabs (*Zhuyanan jin shi mu lu*, j. 4). This view was also held by Zhang Tingji (1768–1848), “Huai Mi shanfang jijin tu xu,” in Cao Zaikui, *Huai Mi shanfang jijin tu*.
- 72 Liu was referring to “The Position in the Bright Hall” (*Mingtang wei*), where various categories of ritual vessels used by different legendary rulers from the Youyu to Xia, Shang and Zhou were mentioned (*Liji Zhengyi*, j. 31, in SSJZS 2: 1490.)
- 73 *The Book of Documents* listed five divine sovereigns in the Chinese antiquity: Shao-hao, Zhuanyu, Gaoxin (Ku), Yao, and Shun (*Shangshu Zhengyi*, preface, in SSJZS, 1: 113).
- 74 The chapters “Canon of Yao” (*Yao dian*) and “Canon of Shun” (*Shun dian*) in *The Book of Documents* (*Shangshu*) provide descriptions of Shun’s life and his virtues as a ruler. *Shangshu Zhengyi*, j. 2 and j. 3, in SSJZS, 1: 117–33; and Birrell, *Chinese Mythology*, 74–77, 81–83.
- 75 According to historical records, *Zhou Rites* was presented to the Xian King of Hejian (r. 155–129 BCE) during a campaign for the restoration of ancient texts destroyed during the Qin (221–206 BCE) (Boltz, “Chou li,” in Loewe, *Early Chinese Texts*, 24–32). Wang Mang modeled his new regime on the socialist political programs outlined in *Zhou Rites*. The classical text was taken as a blueprint for establishing the new regimes of several non-Han rulers during the fourth and sixth century (Elman and Kern, *Statecraft and Classical Learning*, 2–20).
- 76 The statement came from Ma Rong’s commentary of *Zhou Rites*, quoted in the preface by Jia Gongyan, *Xu: Zhouli feixing, Zhouli zhushu*, in SSJZS 1: 635–36.
- 77 Although the attribution to the Duke of Zhou continued to be acknowledged from the Song into modern times, the authenticity of *Zhou Rites* was fundamentally challenged starting in the second half of the eleventh century by such Song scholars as Ouyang Xiu (1007–1072), Sima Guang (1019–1086), and Su Che (1039–1112), who pointed out problems in its content about Zhou institutions (Yao Yingting, “Song ru guanyu Zhouli de zhengyi,” 12–18). In addition, Song scholars did not agree on how the political ideals outlined in *Zhou Rites* should be applied to contemporary issues (Bol, “Wang Anshi and the *Zhouli*,” 229–51).
- 78 Li Gou (1009–1059), “*Zhouli zhi taiping lun xu*,” in *Li Gou ji*, j. 5, 67; and Van Zoeren, *Poetry and Personality*, 151–59.
- 79 Yao Yingting, *Song dai wenhua shi*, 173–74.
- 80 The reference for jade tureens came from “Heaven Office” (*Tianguan*) in *Zhou Rites* (“*Zhouli zhushu*,” j. 6, in SSJZS, 1: 678). The reference for bronze tureens, however, came from a different ritual canon, titled *Ceremonial Rites* (*Yili*), which described

- the function and form of the vessel as well as the ritual context in which it was used.
- Jia Gongyan, *Yili zhushu*, j. 48, in SSJZS, 1: 1200.
- 81 Liu Chang, *Gongshi's Writings*, j. 36.
- 82 Li Yusun (1765–ca. 1839) (*Jinshi xuelu*, j. 2) and Lu Xinyuan (*Jinshi xuelu bu*, j. 1) mentioned a sudden increase of private collectors in the second half of the eleventh century.
- 83 For Li Gonglin as an antiquary, see Zhai Qinian, “Li Boshi Kaogu tu wu juan,” in *Congshu jicheng chubian*, part 1; Harrist, “Artist as Antiquarian,” 237–80; and Chang Lin-sheng, “Li Gonglin yu guqiwuxue de faren,” 19–46.
- 84 Zhai Qinian, *History of Ancient Script* (*Congshu jicheng chubian*), 11–13.
- 85 Harrist, “Artist as Antiquarian,” 237–80; Rong Geng, “Song dai jijin shuji shuping” (1963), in *Songzhai shulin*, 35; Ye Guoliang, “Song dai jinshi xue yanjiu,” 61; and Chang Lin-sheng, “Li Gonglin yu guqiwuxue de faren,” 19–46.
- 86 Cai Tao, *Tieweishan congutan*, 4: 24.
- 87 Barnhart, “Li Kung-Lin and the Art of Painting,” 18–19.
- 88 Harrist (“Artist as Antiquarian,” 242–43) has recognized a passage in Zhai Qinian’s entry on the *Li’s Catalogue* that could have been quoted from Li’s preface.
- 89 Rong Geng, “Song dai jijin shuji shuping” (1963), in *Songzhai shulin*, 35; Harrist, “Artist as Antiquarian,” 237–80; and Chang Lin-sheng, “Li Gonglin yu guqiwuxue de faren,” 19–46.
- 90 The title phrase *Zhou jian*, which literally reads “Zhou’s mirrors,” derived from the *Analects* and referred to the Xia and Shang dynasties, which Confucius believed had served as examples for Zhou to model for the good and admonish against the bad. Rong Geng, “Song dai jijin shuji shuping” (1963), in *Songzhai shulin*, 36.
- 91 Zhai Qinian, “Li Boshi *Zhou jian tu* yijuan,” in *History of Ancient Script* (*Congshu jicheng chubian*), 12–13.
- 92 An image of the inscription from this object is preserved in Xue Shanggong’s *Lidai zhongding yiqi kuanshi fatie*, which suggests that the inscription was in the style of bird script from the Warring States period (Xue, *Lidai*, Yu Xingwu edition, 1).
- 93 Zhai Qinian, “Li Boshi *Zhou jian tu* yijuan,” in *History of Ancient Script* (*Congshu jicheng chubian*), 12–13. A character is missing in the current edition of Li’s post-script. However, it is clear from the context that it should be pronounced referring to the ancient objects.
- 94 Wang Mingqing (b. 1127), *Huizhulu yuhua*, j. 2, 248. The work was mentioned by Zhao Mingcheng in his *Jinshi lu* (Records of bronzes and stelae) and also in the section on fine arts and literature in *Song shi* (Song history). Xue Shanggong also mentioned it in his *Lidai zhongding yiqi kuanshi fatie* j. 1, although he referred to it as *Guqi lu*, instead of *Guqi tu*. Rong Geng suspected that this work might be the same as *Illustrations of Zhou’s Mirrors*, because they match in the number of their volume. (“Songdai jijin shuji shuping” [1963], in *Songzhai shulin*, 35). However, based on descriptive accounts of the two works, it is clear that *Illustrations of Zhou’s Mirrors* was primarily about the inscriptions, while *Illustrations of Ancient Objects* focused on the images of the objects. Nonetheless, the two works may share the same

- handscroll format, with the former as an ink rubbing and the latter essentially a painting with captions.
- 95 Lü, *Examining Antiquity Illustrated*, j. 2, lv. 3.
- 96 Chang Lin-sheng (“Li Gonglin yu guqiwu xue de faren,” 29–30) dates Li’s catalogue to 1088–1089, based the chronology of objects in Li’s collection included in Lü’s *Examining Antiquity Illustrated*.
- 97 Li Gonglin’s discussion of the Geng and Gui cauldrons is recorded in Lü’s *Examining Antiquity Illustrated*, j. 1. The two passages cited in the discussion come from *Zuo zhuan*, Duke Wen, Year 18, and *Lü shi chunqiu*, 16.1, *Xianshi*. For an English translation of this passage, see Knoblock and Riegel, *Annals of Lü Buwei*, 376.
- 98 For example, Wang Tao (“Textual Investigation of the *Taotie*,” 102–18) problematizes the attribution of such a text-based interpretation to the motif.
- 99 Coblin, “Erh ya,” 94–99.
- 100 The original text reads: “Cauldrons . . . with wide and hollow legs are called *li*” (*Xing Bing*, *Erya zhushu*, j.5, *Shiqi*, in SSJZS, 2: 2600).
- 101 Li’s discussion of *li* cauldrons is quoted in the entry for “Dingfu *li*” in Lü’s *Examining Antiquity Illustrated*, j. 2. One of the three vessels in Li’s discussion, *Guoshu li*, is also included in the same book. The other two vessels, both entitled Zhou “Gao *li*” cauldrons in Li’s discussion, came from the Imperial Archives according to Li, but no further information about them was given.
- 102 The inscription of *Guoshu li* reads: “Guoshu made this sacrificial *li* cauldron” (Lü, *Examining Antiquity Illustrated*, j. 2).
- 103 Li’s discussion of the two jade pieces is quoted in Lü, *Examining Antiquity Illustrated*, j. 8.
- 104 The biography of Li in *The Xuanhe Painting Catalogue* (Song Huizong, *Xuanhe huapu*, j. 7) indicates that he started to learn how to paint by copying works by Gu Kaizhi and other ancient masters. One example is a handscroll after Li’s copy of Gu’s *Admonitions of the Instructress to the Court Ladies* now in the Palace Museum, Beijing.
- 105 Harrist (“Artist as Antiquarian,” 264) has noticed a discrepancy between one of the jade ornaments and the term *beng*, which Li used to denote the jade. While the latter is interpreted by Li as a jade ornament on the scabbard, the former was apparently a jade piece fitted on the sword. Harrist suggests that Li may have been misled by Gu’s painting to believe that the jade ornament was meant for the scabbard, not the sword. However, judging from an early fifteenth-century reprint of Li’s drawing after Gu’s painting and the Song copy of Gu’s painting now in the Palace Museum, Beijing, it seems that the jade ornament in these images was depicted correctly as located on the handle of the sword immediately above the opening of the scabbard. The discrepancy pointed out by Harrist is therefore likely to have originated from Li’s misinterpretation of the quoted text from *Shijing*, in which the position of the jade ornament should be understood as *above*, not *on*, the opening of the scabbard.
- 106 The composition of Li’s original work has survived in five different copies. For a detailed discussion of this painting and its copies, see Harrist, *Painting and Private Life in Eleventh-Century China*, 113–18.

- ¹⁰⁷ Harrist (*ibid.*, 27–30) suggests that the painting was likely done between 1086 and 1088, or in early 1090s, when Li, Su Che, and Su Che's older brother, Su Shi (1037–1101), were all living in the capital. Kong Fanli (*Su Che nianpu*, 409) dates the poems by Su Che to 1089 and a colophon by Su Shi for Li's painting to early 1089, before Su Shi left the capital for Hangzhou in the fourth month of that year (Kong Fanli, *Su Shi nianpu*, 2: 865). These proposed dates indicate that the *Painting of Mountain Villa* was produced in the capital Kaifeng around the same period when Li produced his three antiquarian writings.
- ¹⁰⁸ Harrist (*Painting and Private Life in Eleventh-Century China*, 46–66) explored fully the ideas of reclusive life and domesticated landscape represented in Li's *Painting of Mountain Villa* and other literati gardens in the Northern Song period.
- ¹⁰⁹ Su Shi wrote a colophon for Li's painting of Tao Qian, titled *Guiqu lai xi tu* (Painting of returning home) in late 1088 and another colophon for the *Painting of Mountain Villa* in early 1089 (Kong Fanli, *Su Shi nianpu*, 2: 840, 865). The pictorial details of Li's *Painting of Returning Home* are preserved in a later copy that is now in the Freer Gallery, Washington, D.C. (Elizabeth Brotherton, "Beyond the Written Word," 225–63).
- ¹¹⁰ In a different reading, Harrist ("Artist as Antiquarian," 240) suggests that the third verse of Su Che's quatrain may refer to a discovery of an ancient vessel on Li's estate in the Longmian Mountains.
- ¹¹¹ Harrist, *Painting and Private Life in Eleventh-Century China*, 114–16. The Shang object later entered Emperor Huizong's imperial collection and featured prominently at the opening chapter of the imperial commissioned catalogue, *Illustrated Catalogue of Erudite Antiquity Revised in the Xuanhe Era*, j. 1.
- ¹¹² Li Qingzhao, postscript for the *Records of Bronzes and Stelae* (*Jinshi lu houxu*), in Zhao Mingcheng (Jin, ed.), *Jinsh lu jiaozheng*, 531–35. For an analysis of Li and Zhao's different views on antiquity, see Owen, "Snares of Memory," 80–98.
- ¹¹³ Harrist, "Artist as Antiquarian," 240.
- ¹¹⁴ The best known antique market around this time existed on the grounds of the Xiangguo Temple in the capital, Bianjing. See Li Qingzhao, postscript for the *Records of Bronzes and Stelae*, in Jin ed., *Jinsh lu jiaozheng*, 531.
- ¹¹⁵ Li Gonglin was once approached on the roadside by a dealer of ancient jades (Su Shi, *Inscription at the Pond for Washing Jade*. [Xiyuchi ming], in Kong Fanli, *Su Shi wenji*, j. 19, 564).
- ¹¹⁶ Harrist ("Artist as Antiquarian," 240) suggested that a group viewing of an ancient vessel in the casual surroundings of Li's family retreat may be the subject of a section in *Mountain Villa*.
- ¹¹⁷ Chang ("Archaeology and Chinese Historiography," 156–69) pointed out that both Lü Dalin and Liu Chang considered ancient objects critical in understanding ancient ritual practices. Sena, "Cataloguing Antiquity," 202–7.
- ¹¹⁸ For a description of the structure of Lü Dalin's *Examining Antiquity Illustrated*, see Rong Geng, "Song dai jijin shuji shuping" (1963), 3–6; and Sena, "Cataloguing Antiquity," 207–11.
- ¹¹⁹ Chang, "Archaeology and Chinese Historiography," 160–61; and Rudolph, "Preliminary notes on Sung archaeology," 169–77.

- 120 The concern for historicity, however, was unseen in the court effort to revive state rituals using ancient objects as models. For example, all the ancient objects' provenance was removed in Huizong's *Illustrated Catalogue of Erudite Antiquity Revised in the Xuanhe Era*. This is because ancient objects were to the Song court more important as the embodiment of ancient ideals for political mandate than as physical evidence from the past (Sena, "Cataloguing Antiquity," 218–25).

3. Archaistic Objects and Song Material Culture

- 1 The practice of *fanggu* in traditional Chinese culture ranged widely from borrowing motifs directly from the past to making pictorial reference to antiquity. The inclusive nature of the practice contributed to the diverse creativity in traditional Chinese visual art. Powers, "Imitation and Reference in China's Pictorial Tradition," 103–26.
- 2 Chen Fang-mei, "Song guqiwu xue de xingqi yu Song fanggu tongqi," 55–82; and Ebrey, "Replicating Zhou Bells at the Northern Song Court," 179–99.
- 3 Two examples of Zhenghe Cauldrons are in the National Museum of China, Beijing, and the National Palace Museum, Taipei.
- 4 The term *taotie*, the name of a gluttonous beast in Chinese myth, was first used by Li Gonglin to refer to the zoomorphic motif often found in Shang and early Zhou ritual bronzes as admonition against greed. Harrist, "Artist as Antiquarian," 244–45. Song Huizong commissioned, *Xuanhe Erudite Antiquity Illustrated*, j. 1.
- 5 According to the entry in *Xuanhe Erudite Antiquity Illustrated*, the Shang Taotie Cauldron measured 7.4 *cun* in height (including the ear-handles), which falls between 23 centimeters and 23.5 centimeters, based on archaeological evidence on Song standard for length (Guo Zhengzhong, *San zhi shishi shiji Zhongguo de quanheng duliang*, 260–61). The height is almost exactly the same as that of Zhenghe ding Cauldron, which measures 23 centimeters (Guoli gugong bowuyuan [National Palace Museum], *Qianxinian Song dai wenwu dazhan tulu*, 413).
- 6 Rawson, "Novelties in Antiquarian Revivals," 1–24.
- 7 "Zhejiang Quzhou shi Nan Song mu chutu qiuwu," 1004–11, 1018.
- 8 Watson, "On Some Categories of Archaism in Chinese Bronze," 1–13.
- 9 "Jiangyou faxian jingmei Song dai jiaocang tongqi," 8–9. This large steamer, probably over 70 centimeters in its original height, was found with two other large elaborated archaic bronze vases. The three objects likely had been used as a set of altarpieces before they were buried underground.
- 10 Cen Rui, "Mojie wen kaolue," 78–80, 85.
- 11 Gu Li, "Song Liao Xia Jin shiqi mojie wen," 170–71. The Mojie motif was associated with the story about carps transforming into dragons after leaping through the dragon gate. The motif was known as the fish-dragon transformation (*yuhualong* or *yulong bianhua*) in the modern scholarship of Song material culture. Xia Nai ("Cong Xuanhua Liao mu de xingtlu lun ershibaxiu he Huangdao shiergong," 15–56) argued that the prototype of Mojie was introduced with Western zodiacs in Xixia's early period and the sinification of the Western zodiac could be traced to the Tang period.

- ¹² An example of Mojie found in Dunhuang Cave 61 was one of the twelve Babylonian zodiacs painted during the Xixia period (1035–1227) (Dunhuang Yanjiuyuan, *Dunhuang shiku quanji*, 23: 20–22).
- ¹³ Gu Li, “Song Liao Xia Jin shiqi mojie wen,” 171.
- ¹⁴ Examples of bronze mirrors decorated with a Mojie motif that is flying amid clouds or swimming in water were found throughout the Song and Jin periods (Hebei Sheng Wenwu Yanjiusuo, *Lidai tongjing wenshi*, figure 316; and Guan Weiliang, *Zhongguo tongjing shi*, 285, figure 479). The Mojie motif was also seen in celadon produced in Yaozhou, Henan, often in combination with other auspicious motifs, such as playing children (Gu Li, “Song Liao Xia Jin shiqi mojie wen,” 171).
- ¹⁵ Chang Lin-sheng, “Wen-wang Fang-ting and Chung-chü-fu Kuei,” 1–20, 21–36; and Chen Fang-mei, “Zhui Sandai yu dingyi zhijian,” 267–332.
- ¹⁶ Ebrey, “Replicating Zhou Bells at the Northern Song Court,” 179–99. For a list of surviving Dasheng Bells, see Chen Mengjia, “Song Dasheng bian zhong kao shu”; Li Youping, *Dasheng zhong yu Song dai zhong biaozhun yingao yanjiu*; and Chen Fang-mei, “Song guqiwu xue de xingqi yu Song fanggu tongqi,” 37–160.
- ¹⁷ The method was introduced by a Daoist priest named Wei Hanjin who took the measure of Huizong’s middle finger for the *gong* pitch, the fourth finger for the *shang* pitch, the second finger for the *jue* pitch, the thumb for the *zhi* pitch, and the fifth finger for the *yu* pitch. For a historical account on the casting of the Dasheng Bells, see Yang Zhongliang (1241–1271), *Huang Song tongjian changbian jishi benmo* (1253), j. 135.
- ¹⁸ In *Dasheng yue ji*, a treatise commemorating the completion of the new ritual music and instruments, Huizong stated that cranes would gracefully appear whenever the new music was performed (Yang Zhongliang, *Huang Song tongjian changbian jishi benmo*. j. 135; and Sturman, “Cranes above Kaifeng,” 51n76).
- ¹⁹ According to the inscription on the painting, the incident took place at Duanmen, the southern gate of the imperial palace, on the second evening of the Lantern Festival in 1112. For a translation of the inscription, see Sturman, “Cranes above Kaifeng,” 33.
- ²⁰ The painting, *Auspicious Cranes*, belongs to a group of paintings attributed to Huizong that were realistic representations of court events involving idealized interpretations of heaven’s will (*ibid.*, 34–37).
- ²¹ Yang Zhongliang, *Huang Song tongjian changbian jishi benmo*, j. 31 and 80; and Ebrey, “Replicating Zhou Bells at the Northern Song Court,” 183–86.
- ²² Yang Zhongliang, *Huang Song tongjian changbian jishi benmo*, j. 31.
- ²³ Ouyang Xiu, *Jigu lu bawei*, j. 1
- ²⁴ Tuotuo, *Song shi*, j. 128.
- ²⁵ Song Huizong commissioned, *Xuanhe Erudite Antiquity Illustrated*, j. 22. The account of the discovery of these bells is recorded in Zhao Jiucheng, *Xu Kaogu tu*, j. 4.
- ²⁶ Von Falkenhausen, *Suspended Music*, 67–72, 175–89.
- ²⁷ Song Huizong commissioned, *Xuanhe Erudite Antiquity Illustrated*, j. 22–25; the only other set of *bo*-bells was Zhou bixie zhong, which did not carry any inscriptions (j. 25).

- 28 Zhao Jiucheng, *Xu Kaogu tu*, j. 4. The bells were called “auspicious talisman for the court” (*chaoting furui*).
- 29 Song Huizong commissioned, *Xuanhe Erudite Antiquity Illustrated*, j. 22.
- 30 The symbolic meaning of the location of the discovery was recognized by the emperor himself in his *Dasheng yue ji* (Yang Zhongliang, *Huang Song tongjian changbian jishi benmo*, j. 135).
- 31 Song Huizong commissioned, *Xuanhe Erudite Antiquity Illustrated*, j. 22. Although speculating about a few possible Song rulers with the personal name Cheng, Song ritual reformers couldn’t conclude which ruler was mentioned in the inscription. There was, however, a Song ruler in the late seventh century BCE whose temple name was Cheng (Loewe and Shaughnessy, *Cambridge History of Ancient China*, 26). The dates of this Song ruler would put the Jing Bells to the Spring-Autumn period, which is consistent with the stylistic traits of the bells.
- 32 Tuotuo, *Song shi*, j. 128–29; and Ebrey “Replicating Zhou Bells at the Northern Song Court,” 188–94.
- 33 Yang Zhongliang, *Huang Songzizhi tongjian changbian jishi benmo*, j. 135.
- 34 Song Huizong commissioned, *Xuanhe Erudite Antiquity Illustrated*, j. 22.
- 35 Dong You, *Guangchuan shuba*, j. 3; and Sena, “Cataloguing Antiquity,” 200–28.
- 36 Chen Mengjia suggested that the graph for *jing* should be glossed as *ge* 謩, meaning “musical.” According to Chen’s transcription, the inscription should read “Song Duke Cheng’s musical bell” (Chen Mengjia, “Song Dasheng bian zhong kao shu,” 51).
- 37 For the history of the Bureau of Ritual Production (Lizhi ju), see Yang Zhongliang, *Huang Song tongjian changbian jishi benmo*, j. 134. The types of production by this newly established government branch included official costumes, sacrificial vessels, altar structures, and ceremonial chariots.
- 38 The only other surviving example cast during Huizong’s reign, known as Xuanhe shan zun, was made in 1121 after the close of the Bureau of Ritual Production (Zhou Zheng, “Xuanhe shanzun kao,” 74–75). The mode of imitation was also found in the inscriptions on Song objects. Some of the Song inscriptions even passed in the later periods for inscriptions from the Shang-Zhou period; see Sun Yirang (1848–1908), *Song Zhenghe liqi wenzi kao*, in *Guzhou shiyi* (1888).
- 39 Bagley, *Shang Ritual Bronzes in the Arthur M. Sackler Collections*, 26–28.
- 40 Lü Dalin’s *Examining Antiquity Illustrated*, j. 1. See the discussion in chapter 2 on Li Gonglin’s interpretation of the *taotie* motif.
- 41 Scholars today still have not reached a conclusion regarding the meaning of the *taotie* motif (Kesner, “The *Taotie* Reconsidered,” 29–53).
- 42 Song Huizong commissioned, *Xuanhe Erudite Antiquity Illustrated*, j. 1.
- 43 For an excavation report of the tomb, see “Nan Song Yu Gongzhu fufu hezangmu,” 383–402.
- 44 “Epitaphic inscriptions” refers to inscriptions born on two different types of funerary stone carvings. The first type is *mubei*, which is a vertical stone stele erected in front of a tomb or along the spirit road in a funerary park. The other type is *muzhi*, which is often made of two square stone carvings (an upper cover and a

- lower body) placing horizontally inside a tomb chamber. Zhao Chao, *Zhongguo gudai shike gailun*, 17–18, 32–33.
- 45 Zhu Xi, *Jiali* (commonly known as *Zhuzi jiali*). For an annotated translation of Zhu Xi's *Jiali*, see Ebrey, *Chu Hsi's Family Rituals*, 5–177.
- 46 Epitaphs in this format are found throughout Song China. The epitaphs found in the tombs of Wang Gongchen (1012–1085) and Duan Jirong (d. 1252) both belong to this type. “Bei Song Wang Gongchen mu ji muzhi,” 16–23, 15; and “Xi'an Qujiang Chixicun Yuan mu qingli jianbao,” 57–61.
- 47 Zhao Chao, *Zhongguo gudai shike gailun*, 40–46.
- 48 This type of epitaph was commonly found after the early twelfth century, especially in the tombs of local government officials and their family members; for example, three freestanding epitaphs were found in the tomb of Xu Jun (1223–1272), and the epitaph found in the tomb of Lu Yuan (1119–1174) was fixed on the back wall with nails. “Fuzhou Chayuanshan Nan Song Xu Jun mu,” 22–33, 21; and “Zhejiang Xinchang Nan Song mu fajue jianbao,” 86–90.
- 49 Schottenhammer, “Characteristics of Song Time Epitaphs,” 253–306.
- 50 According to the excavation report, the height of the stone slab is measured 155 centimeters and the base 34 centimeters. “Nan Song Yu Gongzhu fufu hezangmu,” 399.
- 51 Chen Mingda, “Han dai de shique,” 9–23. For discussions of Eastern Han funerary structure in general, see Paludan, *Chinese Spirit Road*, 28–51. Because the size of an epitaphic stele in the Eastern Han period was regulated by the rank of the person to whom the stele was dedicated, the immense size of the stele for Gao Yi (275 centimeters in height, rare even among Eastern Han stelae) may have been due to his prestigious official status in the region. Wu, *Monumentality in Early Chinese Art and Architecture*, 190–92.
- 52 Nagata Hidemasa, *Kandai sekkoku shūsei*, 1: 23–28.
- 53 For example, the epitaph for Jin Tianchong's wife, née Wu (d. 1085), is decorated with floral patterns around the edges of the stone (“Jiangxi Qianshan xian Lianhuashan Song mu,” 986–89, 985).
- 54 Zhao Chao, *Zhongguo gudai shike gailun*, 14–15. Dorothy Wong (*Chinese Steles*, 26) recognizes an additional type: a four-sided pillar.
- 55 For a detailed description of the tomb structure and furnishing, see “Nan Song Yu Gongzhu fufu hezangmu,” 383–402.
- 56 For a discussion of the characteristics of elite tombs in Sichuan during the Song period, see Stahl, “Su Shi's Orthodox Burials,” 161–214.
- 57 Ebrey (*Confucianism and Family Rituals in Imperial China*, 45–166) has extensively discussed the social and philosophical foundations of the literati ideal of family rites. For the changes in the tombs of Song literati that reflect the literati ideal of burial rituals, see Kuhn, “Decoding Tombs of the Song Elite,” 21–39.
- 58 Sima Guang's ritual manual *Sima shi shuyi* listed guidelines for ancestor worship, capping, wedding, funerary, and burial rites. Zhu Xi's *Zhuzi jiali* covered the same range of family rites. The objectives of these two ritual manuals are, however, quite different due to the changes in their social context. The manual by Sima aimed

- to lay down philosophical justifications for the new literati rituals, while the one by Zhu strove for ways to popularize the new practices (Kuhn, "Family Rituals," 369–85).
- 59 Su Bai (*Baisha Song mu*, 79) suggested that the tombs found in this archaeological site belong to the same merchant family and dated the tombs to between the late eleventh century and the early twelfth century.
- 60 Kuhn, *Place for the Dead*, 11–159. For the excavation report of the double tomb for the Zhang couple, see "Hunan Changde Bei Song Zhang Yong mu," 233–38.
- 61 "Hunan Changde Bei Song Zhang Yong mu," 235; "Song Su Kuo muzhi ji qita," 64; "Zhejiang Zhiji Nan Song Dong Kangsi fufu mu," 50; and "Fuzhou Chayuanshan Nan Song Xu Jun mu," 30.
- 62 The actual position of the epitaphs for wives within their coffin chambers varied greatly. It could be found in front of or behind the coffin, placed vertically or horizontally, even mounted on the back wall of the coffin chamber in some cases.
- 63 Wu, *Monumentality in Early Chinese Art and Architecture*, 191; and Paludan, *Chinese Spirit Road*, 31, 242. The two reconstructions are basically identical with one critical difference: the offering shrine is separate from the tumulus in Wu Hung's reconstruction, while in Paludan's reconstruction, it is included in the enclosure of the tumulus.
- 64 The form of a *que*-gate, always built in stone, often imitated the structure of a wooden tower. For a detailed discussion of the surviving examples of Eastern Han stone *que*-gate towers, see Chen Mingda, "Han dai de shique," 9–23.
- 65 Paludan, *Chinese Spirit Road*, 28–51.
- 66 Wu Hung (*Wu Liang Shrine*, 30–37) has argued that the offering shrine dedicated to a certain deceased individual could also be seen as a monument for the entire household headed by the deceased individual in cases where the underground burial structure contained multiple burials from the same family.
- 67 The majority of the stele inscriptions in the *Annotations of the Clerical Script* were epitaphic inscriptions. Hong Kuo also included descriptions of ancient cemeteries from the *Commentary on the Waterways Classic* in his text. His book was apparently quite well received that a year later he published a sequel, titled *Continuing the Annotations of the Clerical Script* (Li xu). Additions and revisions were made continuously to both books over the next twelve years until 1181. Hong later compiled two more treatises on Han-Wei stelae that discussed the phonetic roots of the graphs in the inscriptions and the formal features of the stelae. These two treatises are now lost, except for a few dozen drawings that are preserved in *Continuing the Annotations of the Clerical Script*. For a brief study on Hong's treatises, see Li Xinwei, "Hong Kuo he tade *Li shi*," 129–31.
- 68 Egan, *Problem of Beauty*, 28–58.
- 69 Ouyang Xiu, *Tang Kongzi miaotang bei*, in *Jigu lu bawei*, j. 5.
- 70 Rong Yuan, *Jinshi shulu mu*; and Yang Dianxun and Rong Geng, "Song dai jinshi yishu mu," 204–28.
- 71 For a collated edition of *Records of Metal and Stone*, see Jin Wenming, *Jinshi lu jiao zheng*.

- 72 Zhao Mingcheng, *Jinshi lu xu*, in *ibid.*, 1–2.
- 73 Chang Bide et al., *Song ren zhuanji ziliao suoyin*, 4: 3197–3205.
- 74 For Yu Yunwen's career as a court official and military general, see Tuotuo, *Song shi*, j. 383; for his calligraphy and antique collection, see Zhu Cunli (1444–1513), *Shanhu munan*, j. 2. The most celebrated object in Yu's collection was an ancient sword, for which several rhymed verses to ancient tunes were composed.
- 75 Tuotuo, *Song shi*, j. 391. It was out of Yu's recommendation that Liu receive the emperor's attention and his official career flourished.
- 76 Née Liu was given court titles because of her natal family as well as her marital family. For images of the epitaphs (in rubbings) for Yu and his wife, see the excavation report “Nan Song Yu Gongzhu fufu hezang mu,” 399–401, figures 20 and 21. For a complete transcription of the two epitaphs, see ZHYSW, “Pengshan Song zhong-feng dafu Yu Gongzhu fufu muzhi.”
- 77 “Sichuan Langzhong xian chutu Song dai jiaocang,” 85–90.
- 78 Li Huibing, *Liang Song ciqi*, 2: 2, no. 1.
- 79 Delacour, *De bronze, d'or et d'argent*, 80–82.
- 80 The bronze vase was first reproduced in Moss, *Second Bronze Age*, no. 74. It was later exhibited as a loan to the Los Angeles County Museum of Art from 1992 to 2006, and featured at a public auction in 2007 (Christie's New York, *Fine Chinese Ceramics and Works of Art*, March 22, 2007, no. 167).
- 81 This piece was discussed extensively in Kerr, “Metalwork and Song Design,” 161–76.
- 82 For example, Watson, “On Some Categories of Archaism in Chinese Bronze,” 1–13; and Kerr, “Evolution of Bronze Style in the Jin, Yuan and Early Ming Dynasties,” 146–58.
- 83 “Yuan Saiyinchidahu mu de fajue,” 22–33.
- 84 Zhu Xi, *Shaoxi zhouxian shidian yitu*, j. 1; and Hsu Ya-hwei, “Xuanhe bogu tu de jianjie liuchuan,” 1–26. The ritual, known as *shidian*, was performed at local state schools during the Southern Song, where a temple was dedicated to Confucius and his disciples, as well as Song officials who were enshrined with the sage for their cultural and political contributions. Zhao Qiang, “Song dai Wenxuanwang miao kao,” 60–67.
- 85 In addition to the imperial catalogue, the ritual manual *New Protocols for the Five Rites in Zhenghe Era* (*Zhenhe wuli xinyi*) issued during Emperor Huizong's ritual reform also served as a critical base for the standardizing effort in the Southern Song. Wang Meihua, “Miaoxue tizhi de jiangou tuixing yu Tang Song difang de shidian yili.”
- 86 One exception is found in the bronze cache in Pengzhou, in which a fragment of a *zun*-vase was almost an exact copy of the Xuanhe Mountain *zun*-vase produced during Huizong's ritual reform. The similarity indicates that some kind of direct knowledge about the physical details of the court prototype must have been available to the local workshop that produced the Pengshan fragment. Han Wei, “Songdai fanggu zhizuo de yangben wenti,” 288–95; and Sena, “Archaistic Objects in Southern Song Tombs and Caches,” 51–118.
- 87 “Zhaomeng Balin zuoqi Lindongzhen Jin mu,” 63–64.
- 88 Hausmann, “Later Chinese Bronzes,” 230–38. For example, a thirteenth-century edition of Lü Dalin's *Examining Antiquity Illustrated* reemerged during the

- seventeenth century, and illustrations of the thirteenth-century edition were incorporated into the editions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Kwok, “Lü Dalin (1046–1092) *Kaogu tu yanjiu*,” 101–3.
- 89 “Zhenjiang shi nanjiao Bei Song Zhang Min mu,” 55–58. For the life of the prime minister and a history of the Zhang family, see the biography of Zhang Dexiang (978–1048), Tuotuo, *Song shi*, j. 311.
- 90 Tuotuo, *Song shi*, j. 13.
- 91 Qingbai ware is also known as Yingqing ware, literally meaning “porcelain with shadowy blue” (Pierson, *Qingbai Ware*, 6–12).
- 92 Scholars have often identified the nonwhite objects of Ding ware that have reddish-brown glaze with the historical term *zi Ding*, literally “purple Ding ware” (Feng Xianming, *Zhongguo taoci*, 377). However, recent studies that further differentiate this group of Ding ware from other objects with even darker glaze began to use the term *hong Ding*, literally “red Ding ware,” to refer to Zhang’s urns and other objects with similar reddish glaze (Shen Xianyou, “Tan Dingyao hongci,” 63–70).
- 93 Another example very similar to Zhang’s urns was found in a Northern Song tomb dated to 1070 that belonged to a local gentry family with close ties to high officials in the imperial court (“Jintanshi Maoluzhen Shimafen Bei Song mu de fajue,” 34–41). Examples of Red Ding ware became extremely rare after the sixteenth century, so much so that they were known only through literature (Cao Zhao, *Gegu yaolun, xia juan*, v. 3). It was not until the excavations of the Ding kilns in the twentieth century that actual examples of Red Ding ware were found again (Feng Xianming, “Xin Zhongguo taoci kaogu de zhuyao shouhuo,” 35, 45).
- 94 Wang Jianrong and Yang Zhenghong, *Guyun chaxiang*, 72.
- 95 This tradition was still very much in practice outside of the literati class during the Song period. An excellent example of this tomb structure is Baisha Tomb No. 1 (Su Bai, *Baisha Song mu*, 23–63).
- 96 This break from established traditions of tomb construction by Song literati in the eleventh century is well documented in Kuhn, *Place for the Dead*.
- 97 “Zhejiang Pingyang xian Song mu,” 80–81.
- 98 Zhou Bida (1126–1204), the prime minister and leader of a literati circle in the early Southern Song, also wrote an epitaph for Huang that is different from the one found in Huang’s tomb (Zhou Bida, *Wenzhong ji*, j. 32). It is not clear why the epitaph written by Zhou was not used in Huang’s tomb.
- 99 Zheng Jiali, “Cong Huang Shi mu tongqi kan Nan Song zhouxian ruxue tongqli,” 351, figures 1–3.
- 100 “Hebei Xuanhua faxian Jin dai jiaocang wenwu,” 1142–43.
- 101 “Sichuan Dayi xian Anren zhen chutu Song dai jiaocang,” 91–94.
- 102 Chen Fang-mei, *Qingtongqi yu Songdai weihuashi*, 130, no. 49.
- 103 “Gaoan Qingjiang faxian liang zuo Song mu,” 86.
- 104 Sena, “Archaistic Objects in Southern Song Tombs and Caches,” 75–80. For a discussion of writings on taste and connoisseurship from the Song to Ming periods, see Clunas, *Superfluous Things*, 8–39.

- ¹⁰⁵ Hsu Ya-hwei, “*Xuanhe bogu tu de jianjie liuchuan*,” 1–26; and Chen Fang-mei, “*Zhui san dai yu ding yi zhi jian*,” 267–332.
- ¹⁰⁶ Hsieh Ming-liang, “*Tansuo Sichuan Song Yuan qiwu jiaocang*,” 141–69.
- ¹⁰⁷ “*Sichuan Suining Jinyucun Nan Song jiaocang*,” 4–28.
- ¹⁰⁸ The discovery of remains from a shipwreck off the shore of Sinan, Korea, yielded a large amount of archaic objects produced in Longquan and Jingdezhen for an overseas market. Bureau of Cultural Properties, *Relics Salvaged from the Seabed off Sinan*, plates 49–50.
- ¹⁰⁹ Chen Defu, “*Suining Jinyucun jiaocang Song ci san yi*.”
- ¹¹⁰ The typological evolution of incense burners in China is best illustrated in the case of Yaozhou ware (produced in today’s Shanxi). Used since the ninth century, the five-legged incense burners, which originated in a Buddhist ritual context, were replaced by incense burners of archaic forms (typically *ding*-cauldrons and *li*-cauldrons, *zun*-bowls or *gui*-bowls) during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo, *Song dai Yaozhou yaozhi*; and Rawson, “Many Meanings of the Past in China,” 397–421).
- ¹¹¹ “*Datong Jin dai Yan Deyuan mu fajue jianbo*,” 1–13.
- ¹¹² “*Xi’an Qujiang Chixicun Yuan mu qingli jianbao*,” 57–61.
- ¹¹³ “*Datong Jin dai Yan Deyuan mu fajue jianbo*,” figures 2, 38.
- ¹¹⁴ “*Hangzhou shi faxian Yuan dai Xianyu Shu mu*,” 22–25.
- ¹¹⁵ See, for example, detail from the painting *Extracting Tea*, attributed to Liu Songnian (fl. 1174–1210) (Guoli gugong bowuyuan bianji weiyuanhui, *Gugong shuhua tulu*, 2: 123–24).
- ¹¹⁶ These *cong*-vases were often found in pairs. For a discussion of the evolution of *cong*-vases, see Hsieh Ming-liang, “*Congping de bianqian*,” 429–54.
- ¹¹⁷ Rawson, “Novelties in Antiquarian Revivals,” 1–24.
- ¹¹⁸ Whitfield and Farrer, *Caves of the Thousand Buddhas*, no. 76A. Although the vessel types of the vases and incense burner depicted in the painting from Dunhuang (see figure 3.38) were not similar to the archaic ones seen in the Song cases, the shared combination of vases and incense burners was nonetheless clearly demonstrated.
- ¹¹⁹ The tomb occupant, Duan Jirong, was a former Song military general who surrendered to the Mongols during the Mongolian invasion in the mid-1230s (“*Xi’an Qujiang Chixicun Yuan mu qingli jianbao*,” 57–61).
- ¹²⁰ Most of the Song literati tombs found so far have been robbed or disturbed prior to excavation, so there are not yet enough examples of the combination found in Song literati tombs to support any conclusion. In fact, the example found in Xianyu Shu’s tomb is the only one I have found so far from published reports on Song tombs.
- ¹²¹ “*Fuzhou Chayuanshan Nan Song Xu Jun mu*,” 26, figure 11. The vase is probably a type of chopstick vase (*zhuping*) used during the Southern Song period to hold chopsticks in a banquet, as mentioned in Kong Qi’s *Zhizheng zhi ji* (Direct notes in the Zhizheng era), j. 1.

- ¹²² Examples include the four silver vases from a cache in Chengdu, the eight bronze vases from the cache in Longzhong, and the twelve glazed ceramic vases from the cache in Dayi (discussed above). All three caches were found in Sichuan (“Chengdu shi Pengzhou Song dai jinyin qi jiaocang,” figure 10; “Sichuan Langzhong xian chutu Song dai jiaocang,” figure 24; and “Sichuan Dayi xian Anren zhen chutu Song dai jiaocang,” figure 10).
- ¹²³ I have argued that the typological categories of Shang-Zhou ritual bronzes were critical in reconstructing Huizong’s vision of ancient state rituals (Sena, “Cataloguing Antiquity,” 207–25).
- ¹²⁴ Han Wei, “Songdai fanggu zhizuo de yangban wenti,” 288–95; and Sena, “Archaistic Objects in Southern Song Tombs and Caches,” 51–83.
- ¹²⁵ See the essay for warming bottles numbers 1–4 in Song Huizong commissioned, *Xuanhe Erudite Antiquity Illustrated*, j. 13.
- ¹²⁶ The archaic warming bottles, identified as “garlic bottles” in the Guang’an cache, belonged to a set of archaic bronzes that shared similar stylistic features. The cache produced multiple sets of archaic bronzes of various styles (Li Gaoming, “Guang’an xian chutu Song dai jiaocang,” *Sichuan wenwu* 1 (1985): 67–70; and Sena, “Archaistic Objects in Southern Song Tombs and Caches,” 71–72). Objects retrieved from the Sinan shipwreck include many commercial goods produced in the late thirteenth century (Chong, “Ceramic Wares Recovered off the Coast of Korea,” 104–12; and Bureau of Cultural Properties, *Relics Salvaged from the Seabed off Sinan* [Materials I], no. 219a, b).
- ¹²⁷ Examples of this vessel type were also found in the underground stone vault beneath the Zhibiao pagoda, in Haining, Zhejiang.
- ¹²⁸ “Chengdu shi Pengzhou Song dai jinyin qi jiaocang,” figure 16.2.
- ¹²⁹ Examples of similar forms, traditionally known as “barbarian bottle,” were introduced to China during the Tang period (ca. the eighth century) by the Sogdians, who lived in Central Asia and traded along the Silk Road between the third and eighth century (Qi Dongfang, *Tang dai jinyin qi yan jiu*, 306–10).
- ¹³⁰ Song Huizong commissioned, *Xuanhe Erudite Antiquity Illustrated*, j. 7. Compared with the excavated examples in modern times, such as the one found in 1975 from Liling Hunan (Fong et al., *Great Bronze Age of China*, no. 24), the Elephant Ewer in the Song imperial collection seems quite different for its lack of Shang-Zhou decorative motifs. However, the Song drawing shows uncanny affinities to an elephant-shaped vessel in the Hubei Museum, which was characterized by its naturalistic rendition and a body harness (Lü Zhangshen, *Jiang Han tangtang*, 72).
- ¹³¹ Lü Dalin, *Examining Antiquity Illustrated*, j. 4.
- ¹³² Hsu Ya-hwei, “Nan Song jinshi shoucang yu zhongxing qingjie,” 1–60.
- ¹³³ This discussion of the Southern Song court is based on Xu Song, *Song huiyao jigao*, li j. 14, 24.
- ¹³⁴ Li Minju (“Song guanyao lungao,” 47–54) proposed that the Official Kiln was established no later than 1149.

Conclusion

- 1 Twitchett and Smith, *Sung Dynasty and Its Precursors*.
- 2 For the bronze inscriptions from Liu in Ouyang's collection, see *Jigu lu bawei*, j. 1.
- 3 Ibid., j. 1–3.
- 4 See the discussion of Liu's views on antiquity in chapter 2.
- 5 Zhao Mingcheng, preface to *Jinshi lu*.
- 6 Sena, "Cataloguing Antiquity," 200–28.
- 7 Hargett, "Huizong's Magic Marchmount: The Genyue Pleasure Park of Kaifeng," 1–48; and Ebrey, *Emperor Huizong*, 273–83.
- 8 Huizong's desire to realize the ideal world through collecting human artifacts, such as works of art and ancient objects, is discussed extensively in Ebrey, *Accumulating Culture*.
- 9 Sena, "Song-Ming Connection in the Ming Studies of Ancient Inscriptions," 29–59.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbreviations

| | | |
|--------|-------------------------------|---------|
| DNWH | <i>Dongnan wenhua</i> | 東南文化 |
| KG | <i>Kaogu</i> | 考古 |
| KGXB | <i>Kaogu xuebao</i> | 考古學報 |
| MSSYJK | <i>Meishushi yanjiu jikan</i> | 美術史研究集刊 |
| NFWW | <i>Nanfang wenwu</i> | 南方文物 |
| SCWW | <i>Sichuan wenwu</i> | 四川文物 |
| SKQS | <i>Siku quanshu</i> | 四庫全書 |
| SSJZS | <i>Shisanjing zhushu</i> | 十三經注疏 |
| WW | <i>Wenwu</i> | 文物 |
| WWCKZL | <i>Wenwu cankao ziliao</i> | 文物參考資料 |
| ZYWW | <i>Zhongyuan wenwu</i> | 中原文物 |

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